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AMERICAN PROFANITY

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IN AUGUST, 1931, writing in *American Speech*, L. W. Merryweather observed that 'hell fills so large a part in the American vulgate that it will probably be worn out in a few years.' He regarded this deterioration as so nearly certain, in fact, that he proposed that 'clerical circles should take it upon themselves, as a public duty, to invest some other theological term with a shuddering fearsomeness that will qualify it as a successor to *hell*, when the lamentable decease of the latter actually takes place.' Fortunately, his fears have not been borne out by the event. *Hell* still flourishes in the Republic, in so far as profanity flourishes at all, and every one of the combinations and permutations of it that he listed remains in use. I summarize his grand divisions:

1. *Hell* as 'the equivalent of negative adverbs,' or as an intensifier thereof, as in *the hell you say* and *like hell I will*.
2. As a super-superlative, as in *colder than hell*.
3. As an adverb of all work, as in *run, like hell* and *hate like hell*.
4. As an intensifier of questions, as in *what the hell?*, *who the hell?*, *where in hell?*, etc.¹
5. As an intensifier of asseverations, as in *hell, yes!*
6. As an intensifier of qualities, as in *to be hell on*, and *hell of a price*.²
7. As an indicator of intensified experience, as in *hell of a time*,³ *get the hell*, and *to play hell with*.
8. In a more or less literal sense, as in *wouldn't it be hell?*, *go to hell*, *the hell with*, *hell on wheels*, *hell to pay*, *like a snowball in hell*, *till hell freezes over*, and *to beat hell*.
9. As a synonym for uproar or turmoil, as in *to raise hell*, *to give him hell*, and *hell is loose*.
10. As a verb, as in *to hell around*.
11. As an adjective, as in *a hellish hurry* and *hell-bent*.
12. In combination with other nouns, as in *hell's bells*, *hell and red niggers*, *hell and high-water*, *hell and Maria*, *hell-raiser*, *hell-diver*, *hell-bender*, and *hell-to-breakfast*.

1. The choice between *the* and *in* is determined by euphony and the taste of the speaker. Sometimes, as Merryweather notes, both are used, as in *how in the hell?* Occasionally, *hell* is reinforced with another intensifier, as in *what the goddam hell?*

2. Sometimes used in a negative sense, as in George Ade's *hell of a Baptist*.

3. Merryweather notes that *hell of a time* may indicate either the intensely agreeable or the intensely disagreeable.

13. In derivatives, as in *hellion*, *hell-cat* and *heller*.

14. As a simple expletive, as in *Oh, hell*.

Nearly all the examples here cited are of American origin: the English have a much less inspiring *répertoire* of terms in *hell*. The DAE traces *to give him hell* to 1851, *to be hell on* to 1850, *hellion* to 1845, *hell-diver* (a bird) to 1839,⁴ *hell-bent* to 1835, and *hell of a* to 1776, and marks them all Americanisms. It records a number of forms that have since become obsolete, e.g., *hell-face* and *hell-to-split* (1871), *to smell hell* and *hellabaloo* (1840), *hell-sweat* (1832) and *hell-kicking* (1796). It also records some forms that have flourished only in relatively restricted areas, e.g., *hell-rotter* and *hell-west*. Dwight L. Bolinger has called attention to the fact that *hell* and its derivatives make much milder oaths in English than in other languages, and especially, I should add, in American English. They are not as innocuous as the terms in *heaven*, but nevertheless they fall below those in *God*, e.g., *goddam*.⁵ It would be an exaggeration, however, to say that they have lost altogether the character of profanity. The contrary is proved by the continued use of euphemisms, e.g., *heck*, *blazes*, and *thunder*. *By heck* is not listed as an Americanism by the DAE, but the NED Supplement calls it 'dial. and U.S.' and traces it in American use to 1865, more than twenty years before the date of the first English dialect example.⁶ The provenance of *blazes* is uncertain, for though the DAE's earliest example is dated 1837 it appeared in England only a year later. Among the phrases embodying it that are recorded are *by blazes*, *as blue as blazes*, *as black as blazes*, *as hot as blazes*, *as cool as blazes* (cf. *as cold as hell*), *like blazes*, *oh blazes*, *where in blazes* and *what in blazes*. *Thunder* is undoubtedly an Americanism, and the DAE traces it to 1841. It seems to have been preceded by *thunderation*, which was obviously a euphemism for *damnation*, but it had taken on the definite sense of *hell* by 1848. Some of the *thunder*-phrases recorded by the DAE are *by thunder*, *go to thunder*, *why (how or what) in thunder*, and *to give him thunder*. I have also encountered *thundering*.

The only comprehensive collection of American swear-words is in 'A Dictionary of Profanity and Its Substitutes,' by M. R. Walter, of Dalton,

4. Transferred to airmen, c. 1935.

5. 'Profanity and Social Sanction,' *American Speech*, April, 1938, p. 153.

6. The NED Supplement calls *heck* a 'euphemistic alteration of *hell*,' but for this there is no evidence, though in such forms as *what the heck*, *heck of a time* and *by heck* it is undoubtedly used in place of *hell*. Dr. L. G. Van Loon of Reading, Pa., suggests that it may be a Dutch loan (private communication, Jan. 3, 1940). The rural Dutch, he says, often put *bai je gek?*, meaning are you crazy? at the end of a sentence, and *heck* may represent an American attempt to pronounce *gek*. The use of the phrase, he says, in no way reflects upon the sanity of the listener, but is intended to be merely intensive, like *do you understand?*

Pa. It has not been published, but a typescript is in the Princeton University Library and may be consulted there by judicious persons of ripe years.⁷ Walter's list of words is especially rich in euphemisms. Some of them follow, along with a few from other sources:

For *damn*: *drat, bang, blame, blast, bother, darn, cuss, dang, ding.*

For *damned*: *all-fired, blamed, blasted, blowed, confounded, darned, dashed, cursed, cussed, danged, deuced, dinged, switched.*

For *damnation*: *botheration, thunderation, perdition, tarnation.*

For *goddam*: *goldarn, doggone, consarn, goldast, goshdarn*, and various terms in *dad-*, e.g., *dad-blame, dad-blast, dad-burn, dad-shame, dad-sizzle, dad-rat, dad-seize, dad-swamp, dad-snatch, dad-rot, dad-fetch, dad-gum, dad-gast.*

For *hell*: *Guinea, Halifax, Jericho, Sam Hill.*

For *Lord*: *land, law, lawks, lawsy.*

For *God*: *gosh, golly, (great) guns, (great) Scott, (great) horn spoon, (great) snakes, (good) grief, gum.*

For *God Almighty*: *goshamighty.*

For *Jesus*: *gee,⁸ jeez, jiminy (or jeminy), Jemima, Jerusalem, Jehosaphat, gee-whizz, gee-whillikins, gee-whittaker.*

For *Christ*: *cripes, crickey, Christmas, cracky, Christopher.*

For *Jesus Christ*: *Jiminy-cricketts, Judas priest, Judas Christopher.*

Many of these are Americanisms, but not all. The DAE traces *blasted* in the sense of 'damnably' to 1854, *all-fired* to 1835,⁹ *blamed* to 1863, *consarn* to 1825, *cussed* to 1840,¹⁰ *cracky* to 1851, *dinged* to 1843, *dad-blamed* to 1844, *dad-burn* to c. 1845, *dad-shamed* to 1834, *dad-seized* to 1844, *dad-blasted* to 1890, *dad-sizzled* to 1898, *dad-swamped* to 1866, *switched* to 1838, *goldarn* to 1853, *gum* to c. 1815, *goldast* to 1888, *gee-whillikins* to 1857, *great snakes* to 1862, *great guns* to 1884, *great horn spoon* to 1848, *gee-whizz* to 1888, *jeminy* to c. 1846, *Jemima* to 1887, *Sam Hill* to 1839, *land* (in *land's sake*) to 1834, *good land* to 1845, *law* (in *law sakes*) to 1846, *Jerusalem* to 1861 and *gosh* to 1857.¹¹ Walter notes some Irish euphemisms, familiar to all Americans, but now obsolete, e.g.,

7. I have had access to it through the courtesy of Dr. Julian P. Boyd, the librarian.

8. *Hully gee* (for *holy Jesus*) was introduced by Edward W. Townsend's *Chimmie Fadden and Major Max* (New York, 1895), but it disappeared with the decay of the Bowery boy as an American comic type.

9. J. R. Bartlett suggests that *all-fired* may be 'a puritanical corruption of *hell-fired*, designed to have the virtue of an oath without offending polite ears.'

10. *Cuss*, in the sense of a worthless fellow, often used good-naturedly, is traced to 1775, *don't care a cuss* to 1850, *not worth a cuss* to 1849, *to cuss* to 1815, *to cuss out* to 1881, *cussed* to 1840, *cussedest* to 1845, *cussedness* to 1857 and *cussing* to 1841. In all these situations, of course, *cuss* is a euphemism for *curse*, which is itself a euphemism for *damn*, very old in English.

11. Since the appearance of the DAE's second volume in 1940 James B. McMillan has found *gosh* in an English translation of the German works (all dealing with the United States) of Charles Sealsfield, 1842 ('Lexical Evidence From Charles Sealsfield,' *American Speech*, April, 1943, p. 124). The DAE's first example, 1857, is in the form of *gosh-all-Potomac*, now obsolete. *Gosh* also appears in *gosh-all-hemlock* (1865), *goshdang* (1871), and *gosh-durned* (1884), not to mention *gosh-awful*, from *god-awful* (1883).

bedad, faith, bejabers and begorrah. He also records many extensions of Jesus and Jesus Christ, e.g., *ke-rist*, *Jesus H. Christ*, *Jesus H. Particular Christ*, *Jesus Nelly*, *holy jumping Jesus*, *Jesus Christ and his brother Harry*, *Jesus Christ and John Jacob Astor*, and *G. Rover Cripes*. He lists nearly 400 picturesque oaths in the *by* form, e.g., *by hell's peekhole*, *by all the ten legions of divils of Killooly*, *by Amerigo Vespucci*, *by hatchet-heads and hammer-handles*, *by St. Boogar and all the saints at the back-side of the door of Purgatory*, *by the devil and Tom Walker*, *by the double-barreled jumping jiminetty*, *by the high heels of St. Patrick*, *by the holy cinders*, *by the holy St. Mackerel*, *by the piper that played before Moses*, and *by the ripping, roaring, jumping Jerusalem*. Finally, he notes that the Old Testament makes Jahveh Himself swear occasionally, as the pious will discover in Isaiah XLIX, 18 and Ezekiel XVIII, 3.

Profanity has never had a scientific historian, though the literature on the subject is not inconsiderable.¹² Like any other art, it has had its ups and downs—its golden ages of proliferation and efflorescence and its dark ages of decay and desuetude. Medieval England appears to have had a large armamentarium of foul language, much of it obscene and the rest highly blasphemous to modern ears. The Puritans, when they began to make themselves heard and felt in the 1560's, opened a bitter war upon this vocabulary, and with considerable success. By 1611 the somewhat prissy Thomas Coryat, in his 'Crudities,' was denouncing the French postillions for their 'most diabolical custom' of urging on their horses with the cry of *Allons, diable!* The fact that so mild a phrase could strike an Englishman as profane shows how far the Puritan crusade had gone at home, though the hard-swearing Elizabeth had been dead only eight years. Two years after her death Parliament passed an act providing a fine of £10 for anyone who should 'in any stage play, interlude, show, etc., jestingly or profanely speak or use the holy Name of God, or of Christ Jesus, or of the Holy Ghost, or of the Trinity.' This law greatly cramped the style of the playwrights of the Bankside, includ-

12. There is a bibliography in *The Literature of Slang*, by W. J. Burke (New York, 1939), pp. 152-53. To it may be added 'Children of Linguistic Fashion,' by Robert Withington, *American Speech*, Dec., 1934, pp. 255-59; 'The Psychology of Profanity,' by G. T. W. Patrick, *Psychological Review*, 1901, pp. 113-27; 'Profanity,' by Henry Woodward Hulbert, *Biblical World* (Chicago), 1920, pp. 69-75; and *A Cursory History of Swearing*, by Julian Sharman (London, 1884). The article on Profanity in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1928), Vol. X, pp. 378 ff., is worth consulting. There is a brief section headed 'Exclamations, Expletives, Oaths, Etc.,' in *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, by Henry Cecil Wyld (London, 1920), pp. 386 ff. In *The World of Sholom Aleichem*, by Maurice Samuel (New York, 1943), Chapter XXIII is mainly devoted to Yiddish billingsgate, and in *English As We Speak It In Ireland*, by P. W. Joyce (second ed., Dublin, 1910), Chapter VI is on Swearing.

ing Shakespeare. The quartos of his plays had been full of oaths and oburgations, but when Heming and Condell assembled the First Folio in 1623 they undertook a prudent bowdlerization, and the editors of the bard in later years had the exhilarating job of restoring the denaturalized expletives. At the Restoration there was naturally a revival of profanity, but it was confined within rather cautious metes and bounds. The NED shows that the forthright *God's wounds* of 1535 became the euphemistic *zounds* by the beginning of the next century and then vanished altogether, and that the numerous old oaths naming the Virgin Mary were diluted down to the innocuous *marry*. Wyld lists a number of the fashionable oaths of the 1650-1700 period: they run to such banal forms as *strike me dumb*, *rat me*, *split my windpipe*, *by the universe*, *gadzooks*, *gads my life* and *gad take me*. Lord was reduced to *lard*, *devil* to *Harry*, *Jesus* to *Jeminy* and various resounding appeals to God to *dear me*.

It is highly probable that, during the Seventeenth Century, English swearing really moved from England to America. Even in the heart of Puritan New England there was a large population of non-Puritans, some of them sailors come ashore and the rest wastrels and fugitives of a dozen varieties, and it was hard for the magistrates and clergy to dissuade them from sulphurous utterance, just as it was hard to dissuade them from drunkenness and fornication. The frequency of prosecutions for profane cursing and swearing, as reported in the town records, shows that the offense must have been a common one. Allen Walker Read has exhumed some interesting contemporary evidence to that effect.¹³ Ned Ward, an English visitor in 1699, reported of the New Englanders that 'notwithstanding their sanctity, they are very profane in their common dialect.' Sixty years later the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, writing from Maryland, said that 'obscene conceits and broad expressions' were heard constantly there, and that 'no sex, no rank, no conduct' could save a visitor from them. The Revolution, like any other general war, greatly prospered both obscenity and profanity. In 1775 John Adams, assigned by the Continental Congress to draw up 'rules for the regulation of the Navy of the United Colonies,' was moved to authorize commanders to punish profane and blasphemous sailors 'by causing them to wear a wooden collar or some shameful badge,' and a year later George Washington issued a general order to the Army deploring the growth of 'the wicked practise of profane cursing and swearing.' But these admonitions had

13. 'British Recognition of American Speech in the Eighteenth Century,' *Dialect Notes*, Vol. VI, Part vi, July, 1933, p. 328.

no effect, and at the end of the century an English visitor named Richard Parkinson was recording that 'the word *damned*' was 'a very familiar phrase' in the new Republic, and that even the clergy used language that was 'extremely vulgar and profane.' George Washington himself, despite his order to his men, used both *damn* and *hell* with considerable freedom, as have many other American officers since.

All recent writers upon the subject seem to be agreed that profanity is now in one of its periods of waning. This is the melancholy thesis, for example, of 'Lars Porsena, or, The Future of Swearing and Improper Language,' by Robert Graves.¹⁴ Graves believes that there has been a steady decline in England, marked by ameliorations in war time, since the age of Elizabeth.¹⁵ In 1920 H. W. Seaman had come to the same conclusion. 'True oaths,' he said, 'are rare among the English. There are a number of ugly words, probably descendants of true religious oaths, and a few that are merely dirty, and beyond that practically nothing.' Ten years later, returning to the theme, Mr. Seaman reiterated this judgment, and added that all the surviving English expletives, save only *bloody*, had been reduced to a pansy-like insignificance, and were quite devoid of either zip or wow. He said:

Most of us, even experts at the art of imprecation, find some difficulty nowadays in distinguishing between forbidden and permitted words. The social rule is to wait for the cue from your hostess. If she says what the captain of the *Pinafore* did not say,¹⁶ you are at liberty to go a little farther.¹⁷

Six years later, in 1936, the London *Sunday Dispatch* reported that swearing had gone altogether out of fashion in London, at least in circles pretending to any elegance. 'Instead of full-blooded expletives,' it said, 'young bloods of Berkeley square and Belgravia use the names of flower, fish or plant. . . . Conversations run like this: "Hullo, you old baked walnut. How goes the *mackerel-footed flea*?"' To this the *Dispatch* added a speech by a youth in training for the R.A.F.:

Did fifty *blue-belled* miles on Monday, but had to come down to *turbotting* terra firma as some *sweet-williamed* wallah had pinched my *mistletoe* maps, and I was afraid of getting lost in the *wallflowered* wilds.¹⁸

Seaman, as a patriotic Englishman, warned his countrymen against

14. London, 1927; revised ed., 1936.

15. P. W. Joyce, before cited, makes a similar report with respect to Ireland. 'The general run of our people,' he says, p. 66, 'do not swear much; and those that do commonly limit themselves to the name of the devil either straight out or in some of its disguised forms, or to some harmless imitation of a curse.'

16. He never used a big, big D—.

17. 'Let's Stick to Our Own Bad Language,' London *Sunday Chronicle*, Jan. 26, 1930.

18. 'Mayfair Gives Up Swearing,' London *Sunday Dispatch*, April 19, 1936. I am indebted for this to the late F. H. Tyson, of Hong Kong.

adopting American profanity, but he must have known that it was almost as feeble as their own, despite the continued prosperity of *hell* and its derivatives, for he had but recently returned from a visit to the United States, and while here had traveled widely and had frequented journalistic and other antinomian circles. All American treatises on the subject agree that there has been a marked decline in the Republic since the Civil War, with only faint revivals during the two World Wars.¹⁹ Writing in the *North American Review* in 1934, Burges Johnson declared that American profanity was fast losing its punch. He said:

When man began to lose his belief in a petty-minded interfering God, then oaths and curses began to lose their true value. . . . At their worst, when they were made up of words which were socially ostracized, they became maledictions, or bad words. A malediction is an invocation of evil from no omnipotent source, but a sort of homemade defilement. . . . [Now] even the surviving cuss-words, maledictions and execrations of ancient and half-forgotten lineage are dying of anemia, sharing the fate of *zounds* and *gramercy* and *odsblood*. There seems to be little left that a man might use against his adversary except logic, and that of course is out of the question.²⁰

Johnson noted that a number of intrinsically innocuous words, *e.g.*, *plutocrat*, *capitalist*, *bolshevik*, *communist*, *fascist*, *pacifist*, *radical*, *Rotarian* and *bourgeoisie*, were coming into use for purposes of invective, and predicted that they would gradually take on the dignity of general expletives. This prediction has been borne out by the event, and to them have been added many other analogous terms, *e.g.*, *isolationist*, *anti-Semite*, *Nazi* and *New Dealer*. But this process, of course, is old in English, and does not lead to the production of genuine profanity. Another American observer, writing in 1935,²¹ reported the results of a thirty-day 'campaign of listening,' carried on with the aid of 'a small clique of men and women who live anything but cloistered lives.' His conclusion was that Americans had become 'a trifle disgusted with their one-time penchant for cursing,' and were turning to such puerile words and phrases as *dad-gummed*, *dad-slapped*, *fathead*, *for the love of Mike*, and *go climb a tree*. This tendency, I have no doubt, has been helped by the extraordinary prudishness of the American newspapers, which always hesitate to report genuine profanity in full, or even any harmless discourse quoting its more familiar terms. I had a curious personal experience of this in 1939, when, in the course of a lecture delivered at Cooper Union,

19. The talk of the American soldiers in the present war seems to be full of obscenity, but it is all based upon one or two four-letter words and their derivatives, and there is little true profanity in it.

20. 'Modern Maledictions, Execrations and Cuss-Words,' *North American Review*, Nov., 1934, pp. 467-71.

21. 'An Anthology of Printable Profanity,' by Oren Arnold, *Los Angeles Times Sunday Magazine*, Jan. 13, 1935, p. 4.

New York, I ventured to observe: 'American grammar is fast going to *hell*, which is where all grammars will land, I hope and pray, soon or late.' In the New York *Journal-American's* report of the lecture the next morning *hell* was printed as *h-l*.²² Some American newspapers even hesitate to use such euphemistic forms as *damfino*, *dampfool* and *helluva*. Hollywood is even more prudish. Article V of its code of morals, adopted March 31, 1930 and still in force, prohibits the use of 'pointed profanity (this includes the words *God*, *Lord*, *Jesus Christ*, unless used reverently, *hell*, *s.o.b.*, *damn*, *Gawd*), or every other profane or vulgar expression, however used.'

The Holy Name Society carries on a crusade against the use of the more forthright forms of profanity by American Catholics, apparently with some success among its actual members, who are all males. But many Catholics do not belong to it, and numbers of those who are enrolled have apparently got wind of the fact that *hell* and *damn*, if unaccompanied by sacred names, are not, in the judgment of moral theologians, blasphemous, and hence do not involve mortal sin.²³ The society, despite its late appearance in this country, is very ancient, for the cult upon which it is founded, to wit, devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, was prescribed by the Council of Lyons in 1274. In its early days, that devotion seems to have been wholly of a positive character, and there was no emphasis upon the negative virtue of avoiding profane language. The latter object came forward in the Fifteenth Century, when a Spanish Dominican named Didacus of Victoria founded a confraternity to oppose the extravagant and often blasphemous swearing that marked the age. This confraternity was approved by Pope Pius IV on April 13, 1564, and soon afterward it absorbed the earlier cult, and became the Holy Name Society that still flourishes. In its early American days it seems to have been thought of mainly as a league against blasphemy, but since then its devotional purposes have been emphasized, and it has a wider programme. The obligations of members are thus set forth officially:

1. To labor individually for the glory of God's Name, and to make it known to those who are ignorant of it.
2. Never to pronounce disrespectfully the Name of Jesus.
3. To avoid blasphemy, perjury, profane and indecent language.
4. To induce their neighbors to refrain from all insults against God and His saints, and from profane and unbecoming language.
5. To remonstrate with those who blaspheme or use profane language in their presence. This must be governed by zeal, prudence and common sense.
6. Never to work or carry on business unnecessarily on Sunday.

22. The lecture was on Dec. 1, 1939. I should add that the Boston *Evening Globe*, in an editorial on it on Dec. 4, spelled out the word.

23. I am reminded of this by a learned Dominican.

7. To do all they can to induce their dependents to sanctify Sunday.
8. To attend regularly the meetings and devotional exercises of the society.
9. To communicate in a body on the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus,—the second Sunday of January—and on the regular Communion Sunday of the society.
10. To have a requiem mass said each year, sometime after the feast of the Holy Name, for all the deceased members. All who can attend the anniversary mass should do so.
11. To assemble at an hour convenient to the society every second Sunday of the month for devotional exercises, and for the transaction of business.

So far as I am aware, there is no corresponding society among Protestants.

PRONUNCIATION OF UPSTATE NEW YORK PLACE-NAMES

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NEW YORK STATE shows a diversity of origin of its place-names remarkable even in a state of the Union. Beside the usual names of English origin, there are a large number of Indian names—Iroquoian along the Mohawk valley and in the western counties; Algonkian in the southern counties and sporadically elsewhere. The Iroquoian names can usually be distinguished by their complete lack of labial consonants other than [w], [m]. Some of these Indian names have been transliterated into English directly; others received their first written forms from Dutchmen or Frenchmen, with the inevitable result that the pronunciation of many now bears a negligible resemblance to its aboriginal form.

There are also a great many Dutch names (mainly along the Hudson), French names (especially along the St. Lawrence), and a sprinkling of names from German, Welsh, and other languages. The state is notorious for its swarm of towns and villages named after persons and places in classical antiquity: Rome, Corinth, Ovid, and others. (Responsibility for the imposition of these names, which have aroused a good deal of derisive comment, appears to lie with Robert Harpur, deputy secretary of state in 1790, and the land-office commissioners under whose orders he acted.)

A few years ago I made a collection of the local pronunciations of names of places in the state north of Westchester and Rockland Counties. I have obtained my information directly from local inhabitants where possible; otherwise I have depended on up-staters who have traveled about the state enough to be familiar with the pronunciations over considerable areas. I am particularly indebted to Professor C. K. Thomas, of Cornell University, and Dr. Alexander C. Flick, the State Historian (retired), for generous assistance.

My list comprises (a) names of non-English (Iroquois, Dutch, etc.) origin, and (b) names of English origin whose pronunciation does not follow unequivocally from the spelling. For instance, I have not included the town of Kingston, which is pronounced ['kɪŋstən] just as one would expect. But I have included Albion, which might plausibly be pronounced either ['ælbɪən] or ['ɔlbɪən].

The transcription of the names is in what is intended to be typical upstate pronunciation, as described by Professor Thomas in his series of articles in *American Speech*. In this type, *loud* is most commonly pro-

nounced with [au] and *more* with [ɔə]. In the transcriptions the symbols for these diphthongs are used to the exclusion of [aʊ], [oə]. In a number of names like *Thendara*, the vowel preceding [ə] varies between [æ] and [ɛ], the former predominating in the southern and the latter in the western counties. In the transcriptions, both are given without reference to the section of the state in which the name occurs. Similarly both [ɔ] and [ɑ] are given for names like *Orange*, *Horicon*, though the latter is the commoner in the southern counties only, [ɔ] prevailing everywhere else. The symbol [ɒ] is not used in the transcriptions, but it may be assumed to occur as a variant in all names shown to be pronounced with [ɔ]. Similarly [ɑ] may always be advanced more than halfway to [a].

The symbol [i] is used for the unstressed high-front vowels in *Olean*, *Napoli*, with the meaning of [i-ɪ] or [ɪ-ɪ], phonemically distinct from the slightly obscured [ɪ] in such words as *singing*, *candid*. Two deliberately ambiguous symbols are used: [ī], meaning [ɪ/ə]; and [ö], meaning [o/ə].

Among the features of upstate pronunciation in general and the treatment of place-names in particular that are not noted in the transcriptions are: In the northern counties, [au] is sometimes replaced by a diphthong with a raised first element; in the examples of this diphthong that I have heard, the first element was well retracted, and I think the diphthong usually takes the form of [ʌʊ] or [ɔʊ]. It replaces [au] before voiceless consonants, as in *Virginia* and *Ontario*; and also sometimes finally and before certain voiced consonants, as in *cow* [kʌʊ], *down* [dʌʊn].

The sound [ə] is sometimes dropped when preceded by [ə] or [aɪ] and followed by a consonant, as in *Warren* [wɔən], *Maratanza Lake* ['mæə, tənə], *Tioughnioga River* [,tar'nogi], *Wyancoop* ['wain,kup].

An old-fashioned treatment of place-names is the substitution of unstressed [i] for final [ə], as in *Fonda* ['fandi]. An illustration is the city of *Utica*, which is I believe always called ['jutikə] by its inhabitants, but I am told that the pronunciation ['jutiki] lingers in the neighboring countryside.

The vowel in *New* and analogous words is given as [u]; variations in the directions of [ü], [ɪu], [ju] do occur, but not very frequently.

The symbols [ɜ], [ər] are used for the stressed and unstressed vowels of *murder* respectively; these symbols include the retroflexed and unretroflexed (but always definitely r-colored) variants, and also the diphthongal (e.g. [ɜə]) and monophthongal, and rounded (e.g. [œə]) and unrounded, all of which occur in all possible combinations. The symbol [ɜ] is used for all intervocal r-sounds, and in the diphthongs in words like *here*, *far*, etc.

In the numerous Iroquoian names ending in *-aga*, such as *Onondaga*, *Sacandaga*, usage varies between [ɔgə] and [agə]. Sometimes the local people prefer one or the other; in such cases the preference is usually for [ɔ]. In other cases both are used indiscriminately. I think I detected a feeling among some upstate speakers that, whereas [ɔ] was the commoner vowel in these names, [a] was somehow the more cultivated or authentic. In the transcriptions I have given both vowels except where my informants assured me that one or the other was strongly preferred.

In a number of names having four or more syllables, such as *Onondaga*, *Casowasco*, there is a primary and a secondary accent, usually but not always falling on the third and first syllables respectively, which may shift under the influence of sentence-stress (e.g. from [ˌɑnənˈdɔgə] to [ˈɑnənˌdɔgə]). The exact incidence of accent in some of these four-syllable words is uncertain; many shown here with the primary accent on the third syllable seem in practice to have about equal accents on the first and third syllables.

The pronunciations of descriptive and qualifying words such as 'East,' 'Bay,' 'River,' etc., are not usually given. Abbreviations are as follows: B.: Bay; Be.: Beach; Br.: Brook; Cen.: Center; Co.: County; Cors.: Corners; Cr.: Creek (usually [krɪk]); Ft.: Fort; Fs.: Falls; H.: Hill; Hol.: Hollow; I.: Island; Is.: Islands; Jct.: Junction; L.: Lake; Ls.: Lakes; Mt.: Mountain [ˈmaʊntɪ, ˈmaʊnˈtɪ]; Mts.: Mountains; P.: Pond; Pk.: Park; Pt.: Point; R.: River; Sprs.: Springs; Sta.: Station; Str.: Stream; T.: Town (in New York State, a subdivision of a county: the equivalent of a township elsewhere); V.: Valley.

With a final apology for the errors with which this contribution is probably infested, let us proceed to our place-names, grouped by counties alphabetically arranged.¹

ALBANY CO. [ˈɔlbəni]

Altamont [ˈæltəˌmant]

Aquetuck [ˈæqwɪˌdʌk]²

The Bocht [ˈbɒkt]³

Cohoes [ˈkɒˈhoz]

Colonie [ˈkɒləˈni]

Dunsbach Ferry [ˈdʌnzˌbæk]

Feura Bush [ˈfjʊə, ˈfɪə]

Hannacrois Cr. [ˈhænəˌkrɔɪ]

Loudonville [ˈlaʊdnˌvɪl]

1. Bibliography: Alexander C. Flick, 'New York Place Names,' in *History of the State of New York*, Vol. 10 (Columbia University Press, 1937), pp. 293-332; Alfred H. Holt, *American Place Names* (Crowell, 1938); John S. Kenyon, *American Pronunciation*, 6th ed. (George Wahr, 1935); C. K. Thomas, 'Pronunciation in Upstate New York,' *American Speech*, 10: 107-112, 208-212, 292-297; 11: 68-77, 142-144, 307-313; 12: 122-127 (Apr. 1935-Apr. 1937); Harold W. Thompson, *Body, Boots, and Breeches* (Lippincott, 1940).

2. Of Iroquoian origin despite its resemblance to 'aqueduct.'

3. Dutch, 'the bend.'

McKownville [mə'kaʊn,vɪl]
 Medusa [mɪ'dusə]
 Menands [mɪ'næn(d)z]
 Mohawk R. ['mo,hɔk]
 Myosotis L. [ˌmaɪə'sotɪs]
 Oniskethaw [ə'nɪskɪ,θɔ]
 Ravena [rə'vɪnə]
 Slingerlands ['slɪŋ(g)ɔlənd(z)]
 Sprayt Kill ['sprɛt,kɪl]⁴
 Van Leuvan's Cors. [vən'lev(ə)nz]
 Van Schaik I. [vən'skaɪk]
 Vlauman Kill ['vlaʊmən,kɪl]
 Voorheesville ['vuːɪz,vɪl]
 Watervliet ['wɔtə,vlɪt, -vɪ,ɪt,
 -və,lɪt]⁵
 Westerlo ['westə,lɔ]⁶

ALLEGANY CO. ['ælə,ɡeni]
 Alma ['ælmə]
 Bolivar ['bɒlɪvə]
 Campens Cr. ['kæmpənz]
 Canacadea Cr. [ˌkænəkə'diə]
 Canaseraga [ˌkænəsə'rɔɡə]
 Caneadea [ˌkænə'diə]
 Ceres ['sɪrɪz]
 Obi ['o,bai]⁷
 Oramel [ˌɔrə'mel]
 Scio ['saiə]
 Shongo ['ʃaŋɡo]
 Wigwam Cr. ['wɪɡ,wəm]
 Wiscoy ['wɪs,kɔɪ]

BROOME CO. [brʊm]
 Anoka [ə'nokə]
 Berkalew I. ['bɜkə,lʊ, -kɪ,u]

Big Choconut Cr. ['tʃokə,nʌt]
 Binghamton ['bɪŋəmtən]⁸
 Itaska [ɪ'tæskə]
 Killawog ['kɪlə,wɔɡ, -wɔɡ]
 Nanticoke ['næn(t)ɪ,kʊk, -kɔk]
 Occanum [ə'kænəm]
 Oquaga L. [(ö)'kwagə, -ɔɡə]
 Ouaquaga [(ö)'kwagə, -ɔɡə]
 Tiona [ˌtaɪ'(j)onə]
 Tioughnioga R. [ˌtaɪö'nɔɡə,
 -naɪ'(j)ɔɡə, taɪ,(j)ɔfni'(j)ɔɡə,
 ti,(j)æfni'(j)ɔɡə, -(j)afni-
 -(j)ɔfni-]⁹

CATTARAUGUS CO. [ˌkætə'rɔɡəs]
 Bova Cr. ['bovə]
 Conewango [ˌkənɪ'wʌŋɡo]
 Connoisarauley Cr. [ˌkænɪsə'rɔli]
 Delavan ['dɛlə,væn]
 Devereau ['dɛvə,(r)ɔ]
 Gowanda [ɡö'wʌndə]
 Ischua ['ɪʃu,(w)e, 'ɪʃuə]
 Lonkto Hol. ['lɔŋkto]
 Machias [mə'tʃaɪəs]
 McGuaine Hol. [mə'ɡwen]
 Napoli ['nepə,li, -plɪ]
 New Albion [ˌnu 'ælbɪən]
 Olean ['oli,æn, ˌoli'(j)æn]
 Onoville ['ənə,vɪl]
 Sandusky [ˌsæn'dʌski]
 St. Bonaventure [ˌsent
 ˌbʌnə'ventʃə]
 Tunesassa ['tʌnəsəsə]
 Tunungwant [tə'nʌŋwənt]
 Versailles [və'sɛlz]

4. Dutch *kill* = 'creek.' Names with *Kill* are generally pronounced as one word.

5. Dutch, 'water stream.'

6. After the town Westerloo in Belgium.

7. Iroquoian, of uncertain derivation; not a Japanese cummerbund.

8. Sometimes called ['bɪmɪŋtən] by persons from other parts of the state.

9. Apparently there is no well-established pronunciation for this name.

CAYUGA CO. [ke'jugə, kɪ-, 'kjugə]

Aurelius [ə'riliəs, -ljəs]

Aurora [ə'rɔərə]

Casowasco [kæsö'wasko]

Degroff [di'græf, -'græf] (*sic*)

Genoa [dʒi'noə]

Ira ['aɪrə]

Ledyard ['ledʒəd]

Levanna [li'vænə]

Omro ['amro]

Owasco [ö'wasko]

Tra Sta. [tra]

CHAUTAUQUA CO. [ʃə'tɔkwə]

Busti ['bas,taɪ]

Canadaway Cr. [kænə'daui]

Cassadaga [kæsə'dɔgə, -'dagə,
- 'degə]

Celeron ['selɔən, -ɔ,(r)on, -ən]

Centralia [s(ə)n'treliə, -ljə]

Chadokoin R. [ʃædə,kɔɪn]

Cordova [kɔərə'dovə]

Dewittville [di'wit,vɪl]

Falconer ['fælkənə]

Fluvanna [flu'vænə]

Forsyth ['fɔɪ,saɪθ]

Havilah [hə'vɪlə]

Kiantone ['kɪn,ton, 'kaɪən-]

Laona [le'(j)onə]

Mina ['maɪnə]

Niobe [naɪ'(j)obi, 'naɪöbi]

Pomfret ['pamfrət]

Shumla [ʃʌmlə]

Stow [sto]

Volusia [və'luʃə]

Wango ['wæŋgo]

Wooglin ['wuglən, -lən]

CHEMUNG CO. [ʃi'mʌŋ]

Arnot ['aɪno]

Elmira [el'maɪrə]

Rodbourn ['rad,bɔ:n]

Wyncoop Cr. ['wɪn,kup, 'waɪ(ə)n-]

CHENANGO CO. [ʃi'næŋgo,

'jɪnæŋgo]

Canasewacta Cr. [kænəsɪ'waktə]

Genegantslet [dʒɛnɪ'gæn(t)slət]

Lincklaen ['lɪŋk,lɛn]

Norwich ['nɔɪ,wɪtʃ]

Otsellic [at'sɪlɪk]

Pharsalia [fə'sɛliə, fəɪ-, -ljə]

Sherburne [ʃɛbɜ:n]

Smyrna ['smɜ:nə, sə'mɜ:nə]

Talette [tə'let]

Whapanaka Br. [hwapə'nækə]

CLINTON CO. ['klɪnt(ə)n]

Altona [æl'tonə]

Bocar Pt. ['bɔkə]

Champlain [ʃæm'plen]

Chazy [ʃe'zi]

Cherubusco [tʃɛərə'basko, 'tʃɪərə-]

Churubusco [,(t)ʃʊərə'basko,
,(t)ʃɜərə-]

Coopersville ['kʊpə,vɪl]

Corbeau Cr. ['kɔɪbo]

Dannemora [dænɪ'mɔərə]

Ingraham ['ɪŋgrəm, 'ɪn-]

Irona [(ə)'ronə]

Mooers [mɔɪz, muɪz]

Point au Fer [pɔɪntə'fɛɪ]

Point Au Roche [pɔɪntə'roʃ, -'ruʃ]

Rouse's Pt. ['raʊsɪz]

Toft Pt. [tɔft]

Valcour [væl'kuɪ]

COLUMBIA CO. [kə'lʌmbiə, -bjə]

Ancram ['æŋkrəm]

Bash Bish Br. ['bæʃ,bɪʃ]

Claverack ['klavərɪk, 'klæv-,
-ɔ,(r)æk]

Clermont ['kleɪ,mənt]

Copake ['ko,pek]
 Craryville ['kreəri,vil]
 Kinderhook ['kində,huk]
 Magdalen I. ['mægdələn]
 Malden Br. ['moldn]
 Mt. Merino [mə'rino]
 Muitzes Kill ['mitsiz]
 Nevis ['nevīs]
 Niverville ['naivə,vil]
 Pulver's Cors. ['pəlvəz]
 Queechy ['kwitʃi]
 Roeliff Jansen Kill ['ralif
 'dʒən(t)s(ə)n]
 Stuyvesant ['staivəs(ə)nt]
 Suydam ['saidəm]
 Taghkanick [tə'kanik]
 Taconic State Pk. [tə'kanik]
 Valatie [və'leʃə]
 Viewmonte ['vju,mant]

CORTLAND CO. ['kɔ:tlənd]
 Cincinnatus [,sɪns(tɪ)n'etəs]
 Cheningo [ʃə'ningo]
 Cuyler ['kailə]

DELAWARE CO. ['delə,wɛə]
 Barkaboom Str. ['bæəkə,bum]
 Bovina [bō'vainə]
 Cadosia [kə'doʃə, -ziə]
 Coutter Br. ['kautə]
 Delhi ['dɛl,hai]
 Dona Br. ['dɒnə]
 Halcottsville ['hɒlkəts,vil]
 Houghtaling Hol. [hō'teliŋ]
 Leonta [lɪ'(j)əntə]
 Methol ['mi,θɒl]
 Monka H. ['mɒnkə]
 Ouleout Cr. ['olɪ,(j)ut, 'ol,jut]

Pakatakan Mt. [pə'kætəkən]
 Pepacton [pɪ'pæktən]
 Platte Kill ['plətə,kɪl]¹⁰
 Vega ['vigə]

DUTCHESS CO. ['dʌtʃɪs, 'dʌtʃ'ɛs]
 Amenia [ə'miniə]
 Bangall ['bæŋ,gəl]
 Camelot ['kæmələt, -mlət]
 Eighthmyville ['emi,vil]
 Honess Mt. ['hanɪs]
 Matteawan ['mætə,wan]
 Poughkeepsie [pō'kɪpsi]
 Poughquag [pō'kweg]
 Shekomeko [ʃɪ'kamɪ,ko]
 Staatsburg ['stats,bɜ:g]
 Stoneco [stō'nekə]
 Verbank [,vɜ:'bæŋk]
 Wappingers Fs. ['wəpɪn(d)gəz]
 Wassaic ['wə,sek, -sɪk]
 Webatuck ['wɛbətək, 'wɔ-]
 Whortlekill Cr. ['wɜ:tlɪ,kɪl]
 Wiccopee ['wikə,pi]

ERIE CO. ['ɪəri]
 Alden ['ɒld(ə)n]
 Angola [,æŋ'gɒlə]
 Athol Sprs. ['eθ(ə)l, 'æθ-]
 Blaisdell ['blezdəl]
 T. of Cheektowaga [,tʃiktō'wagə]
 Depew [dɪ'pju]
 Ellicott ['ɛlɪkət]
 Got Cr. ['gɒt]
 Iroquois ['ɪrə,kwɔɪ]
 Lackawanna [,lækə'wənə]
 Lancaster ['læŋ,kæstə]
 Marilla [mə'rɪlə]
 Neuman Cr. ['numən]

10. This name retains the original spelling and pronunciation of the Dutch for 'flat creek.' The name appears elsewhere in the state in forms corrupted in one or both respects, such as Plotterkill, in Schenectady County.

Pontiac ['pɒntɪ,(j)æk]
 Rhythus Cr. ['rɪθəs]
 Sardinia [ˌsɑə'dɪniə]
 Scajaquada Cr. ['skædʒə,kwadə]
 Tonawanda [ˌtənə'wəndə]
 Wanakah [wə'nəkə]
 Wende ['wɛndə]
 Willink ['wɪlɪŋk]
 Wolcottsburg ['wʊlkəts,bʊg]
 Wyandale ['waɪən,dɛl]

ESSEX CO. ['ɛsɪks]
 Ausable R. [ˌɔ'sebl]
 Boreas R. ['bɔəriəs]
 Bouquet [bʊ'kɛt]
 Bulwaga B. [ˌbʌl'wəgə]
 Corlear B. ['kɔlə,lɪə]
 Euba Mills ['jʊbə]
 Grosvenor B. ['grʌvnər]
 Hoisington Br. ['hɔɪsɪŋtən]
 Isola Bella [i'solə'belə]
 Keeseville ['ki:z,vɪl]
 Legoys B. [lə'gɔɪz]
 Ligonier Pt. ['lɪgə,nɪə]
 Moriah [mə'raɪə]
 Pokamoonshine Mt.
 [ˌpɒkə'mʊnʃaɪn]
 Reber ['ri:bə]
 Santanoni Mt. ['sæntə,nɒni]
 Schroon L. [skru:n]¹¹
 Tahawus [tə'hɔwəs, -'hɔz]
 Trembleau Pt. [trəm]
 Vanderwhacker Mt.
 ['vændə,wækə]
 Whallon B. ['wələn]
 Whallonsburg ['hwelənz,bʊg]

FRANKLIN CO. ['fræŋklɪn]
 Albarg ['æl,bʊg]
 Algonquin [ˌæl'gən,kwɪn]

T. of Altamont ['æltə,mənt]
 Ampersand ['æmpə,sænd]
 Brueyer P. ['b(r)ɔɪə]
 Chateaugay ['ʃætə,ge, -gi]
 Cheney H. ['tʃɪni]
 Copperas P. ['kəpərəs]
 Debar P. [dɪ'baə]
 De Boef's [dɪ'bʌfs]
 Faust [fɔst]
 Ft. Covington ['kʌvɪŋtən, 'kʌv-]
 Hoel P. ['ho(ə)l]
 L. Kiwassa [kɪ'wasə]
 L. Kushaqua ['kʊʃə,kwə]
 Madawaska [ˌmædə'waskə, ˌmʌd-]
 Meno ['meno]
 Moira [mɔ'(w)əɹə]
 Onchiota [ˌən(t)ʃar'(j)otə]
 Osetah L. [ə'sitə]
 Plumadore ['plʌmə,dɔə]
 Porcaville ['pɔrkə,vɪl]
 Saginaw B. ['sæɡɪ,nɔ]
 Saranac L. ['særə,næk, 'sɛə-]
 Tebo ['tibo]
 Tekene [tə'kin]
 Wawbeek ['wə,bɪk]
 Winnebago P. [ˌwɪnɪ'bego]

FULTON CO. ['fʊltən]
 Auskerada [ˌɔskə'rədə]
 Broadalbin [ˌbrɔd'ɔlbɪn, -'æl-]
 Caroga L. [kə'rogə]
 Ephratah [ɪ'fretə]
 Garoga [gə'rogə]
 Kenneatto Cr. [ˌkenɪ'(j)ætə]
 Lasselsville ['læs(ə)lz,vɪl]
 Meco ['miko]
 Sacandaga [ˌsækən'dəgə]

GENESEE CO. [ˌdʒenə'si]
 Acra ['ækɹə]

11. After the wife of the French dramatist Paul Scarron.

Basom ['bæskəm] (*sic*)
 Batavia [bə'tevɪə]
 Bergen ['bɛdʒ(ə)n, bə'dʒɛn]
 Corfu ['kɔə,fju]
 Ginseng Mt. ['dʒɛnsɪŋ] (*sic*)
 Otaka Cr. [ö'takə]
 Sawens [sɔnz]
 Vulgary ['vʌlgəri]

GREENE CO. [grɪn]

Alsen ['æls(ə)n]
 Athens ['eθ(ə)nz]
 Cairo ['keɪo]
 Coxsackie [kuk'saki, -'sæki, kak-]
 Devasego Fs. [dɛvə'sigo]
 Halcott Cen. ['hɔlkət]
 Hannacroix ['hænə,kroɪ]
 Kaaterskill Jct. ['katəz,kɪl]
 Kiskatom ['kɪskə,tam]
 Onteora Pk. [ˌanti'(j)ɔərə]
 Palenville ['pelən,vɪl]
 Plaat Clove ['plat,klov]¹²
 Plattekill Mt. ['platə,kɪl]
 Potuck H. [pö'tʌk]
 Vondubock Cr. [ˌvandʊ'bək]

HAMILTON CO. ['hæm(ɪ)ltən]

Belden Vly ['beldn 'vlar]
 Caughnawangha Club
 [ˌkɔgnə'wʌŋgə]
 Colombe Br. [kə'lʌm]
 Forked L. ['fɔəkɪd]
 Hoffmeister ['haf,maɪstər]
 Kunjamuk Mt. ['kʌn(d)ʒə,mʌk]
 Limekiln L. ['lʌm,kɪl]
 Mohegan [möh'hiɡən]
 Nehasane L. [nɪ'hæsəni, -sni]

Pickwacket P. [ˌpɪk'wækɪt]
 Piseco L. [pɪ'siko]
 Racquette L. ['rækɪt]
 Rudeston ['rudəstɪn]
 Sabael P. [sə'bil]
 Tomany Mt. ['tʌməni]
 Tomar Mt. ['tomər]
 Towaloondah [ˌtulə'wʌndə] (*sic*)¹³
 Utowana [ˌjutö'wʌnə]
 Whortleberry P. ['wɔrtl,bɛəri]

HERKIMER CO. ['hɜkɪmər]

Canachagala [ˌkæn(ə)tʃə'ɡelə]
 Chepachet [tʃɪ'pætʃɪt, ʃɪ'pæʃi]
 Dolgeville ['dʌl(d)ʒ,vɪl, 'dʌlz-]
 L. Easka ['eskə]
 Hasenclever H. ['haz(ə)n,klevər]
 L. Kanacto [kə'næktə]¹⁴
 Moulin [ˌmo'lin]
 Nowadaga Cr. ['noə,dʌɡə]
 Okara Ls. [ö'kæərə, -'kɛərə]
 Onekio [ˌonɪ'kario]
 L. Onotes [ö'notiz]
 Pico L. ['parko, 'piko]
 Rondaxe ['ran,dæks]
 Salisbury Cen. ['sɔlz,bəri]
 Skensowane ['skænsö,wʌn] (*sic*)
 L. Tajekha [tə'dʒɛkə]
 L. Tekeni [tɪ'kini]
 Thendara [ˌθen'dæərə, -dɛərə]
 Waiontha Ls. [war'(j)an(t)θə]

JEFFERSON CO. ['dʒɛfəs(ə)n]

Algona [ˌæl'gonə]
 Chaumont [ʃə'mo]
 Deferiet [dɪ'fɛr(i)ət]
 Depauville [dɪ'po,vɪl, -'pɔ-]

12. Dutch *plaat kloof* [pla:t klo:f], 'flat gulf.'

13. This was the only pronunciation my informant knew, but he could not state that some such form as [ˌtaʊə'lʌndə] does not also occur.

14. Like most of the Iroquois names in this county, this one was given within recent decades for real-estate purposes.

Frontenac ['frantɪ,æk]
 Galloo I. [gə'lu]
 T. of Leray [lə're]
 Muskalong ['mʌʃ(ə)l,ɔŋ] (*sic*)
 Nauvoo ['nɔ,vu]
 Pamela [pə'miliə, -ljə]
 Rosiere [rö'ziə]
 Theresa [θə'risə]¹⁵
 Zoar [zɔə]

LEWIS CO. ['luɪs]
 Alpina [æl'pinə]
 Brantingham ['bræntɪŋ,hæm]
 Byron's Cors. [bəznz]
 Capidon Cr. ['kæpɪdən]
 Castorland ['kæstə,lænd]
 Constableville ['kanstəbl,vɪl]
 Croghan ['krogən]
 Dirreen Cr. [dɪ'rɪn]
 Grieg [grɛg] (*sic*)
 Kirschnerville ['kɜʃnə,vɪl]
 Kosterville ['kastə,vɪl]
 Lowville ['lau,vɪl]¹⁶
 Monteola [ˌmantɪ'(j)olə]
 Naumberg ['nɔm,bɜg, 'naum-]
 New Bremen [ˌnu 'brɪmən]
 Osceola [ˌasɪ'(j)olə]
 Partridgeville ['pætrɪdʒ,vɪl,
 'pæt-]
 Petrie's Cors. ['pɪtrɪz]
 Pinney Settlement ['pɪni, 'peni]
 Port Leyden [ˌpɔrt 'laɪdɪn]
 Schroepfel ['skrɪp(ə)l]
 Shuetown ['ʃu,təʊn]¹⁷
 Talbot Cors. ['tɒlbət]
 Talcottville ['tɒlkət,vɪl]
 Turin ['tuəɪn, 'tɜɪn]
 Woodwardia [ˌwud'wɔɹdiə]

LIVINGSTON CO. ['lɪvɪŋstən]
 Ashantee [ə'ʃænti]
 Avon [ævən]
 Calabogue Cr. ['kælə,bɔg]
 Canawangus [ˌkænə'wʌŋgəs]
 Conesus [kə'nɪsəs]
 Geneseo [ˌdʒɛnə'sio]
 Hoppaugh L. ['hɒpə]
 Keshagua Cr. ['keʃə,kwə]
 Lima ['lɪmə]
 Nunda [ˌnʌn'de]
 Ossian ['ɒʃ(ə)n]
 T. of Portage ['pɔrtɪdʒ]
 Retsof ['rɛt,sɒf]
 Sonyea ['sɒn,jɛ, 'sæn-]
 Tuscarora [ˌtʌskə'rɔərə]
 Valkenburg ['vɒlkən,bɜg]

MADISON CO. ['mædɪs(ə)n]
 Alene [ə'lin]
 Ballina [bə'lɪnə]
 Bouckville ['bauk,vɪl]
 Canestota ['kænɪs,totə]
 Cazenovia [ˌkæz(ə)n'ovɪə]
 Chittenango [ˌtʃɪt'næŋɡo, -ŋ-]
 Cowaselon Cr. [kɔ'(w)asələn, -sl-]
 De Ruyter [dɪ'rɪtə]
 Durhamville ['dʒəm,vɪl]
 Sangersville ['sæŋɡɜz,vɪl]
 Siloam [sə'lom]
 Wampsville ['wʌm(p)s,vɪl]

MONROE CO. [mən'ro, 'man,ro]
 Belcoda [ˌbɛl'kadə]
 Chili ['tʃɪl,laɪ]
 Ganargua Cr. [gə'naɜgwə]
 Golah ['gɒlə]
 Irondequoit [(ə)'randɪ,kwat,

15. Named after the daughter of an early settler, hence not a corruption of the name of the Austrian empress.

16. After a Mr. Low [lau].

17. After a Mr. Shue [ʃu].

- ,kwɔɪt]
 Manitou Be. ['mænɪ,tə]
 Riga ['raɪgə]
 Rochester ['rɒtʃ,ɛstə, -əstə]

MONTGOMERY CO. [,mant'gəməri,
 mənt-]

Auriesville ['ɔəri:z,vɪl]
 Canajoharie [,kænədʒə'hæəri,
 -'hæəri]
 Cayadutta Cr. ['keə,dʌtə]
 Chaughtanoonda Cr.
 [,tʃɔktə'nʌndə, tʃʌktə'nʌndə,
 ,tʃætə'nʌgə]
 Chuctanunda Cr. [,tʃʌktə'nʌndə]
 Danascara Cr. [,dænəs'kæərə,
 -'kæərə]

Fonda ['fʌndə]
 Freysbush ['fraɪz,bʊʃ]
 Hagarman ['hegəmən]
 Kayaderoseras Cr. [,ke(ə)də'rɔsərəs]
 Lykers ['laɪkəz]
 Minaville ['maɪnə,vɪl, 'mɪn-]
 Otsquago Cr. [,at'skwagə]
 Palatine Bridge ['pælə,tam]
 Stone Arabia ['stʌn,rabi]

NIAGARA CO. [,naɪ(j)ægrə]
 Cambria ['kembriə]
 Coomer ['kʊmə]
 Dysinger ['daɪs(ə)n(d)ʒə]
 Echota ['i'kɒtə]
 Hoffman ['hɒfmən]
 La Salle [lə'sæl]
 Newfane ['nu,fen]
 Pekin [pɪ'kɪn, 'pi,kɪn]
 Shawnee [,ʃə'ni]

ONEIDA CO. ['ɒ'naidə]
 Anos Siding ['enəs]
 Ava ['evə]
 Barneveld ['bæənə,veld, -v(ə)l-, -t]

Blossvale ['blɒz,vəl]
 Coonrod ['kʊn,rɒd]
 Delavan ['delə,væn]
 Enos ['inəs]
 Holland Patent
 ['hələn(d) 'pætnt]
 Honnedaga [,hənə'dɒgə, -'dagə]
 Kayuta L. [,ke'jutə]
 Kuyahora L. [,kaɪə'hʊərə]
 Oriskany Fs. ['ɒrɪskəni, ə'ɪs-]
 Sauquoit [sə'kwɔɪt]
 Sconodoa [,skənən'doə]
 Taberg ['te,bɜ:g]
 Utica ['ju:tɪkə]

ONONDAGA CO.

[,ənən'dɒgə, -'dagə]
 Borodino [,bɒrə'damɒ]
 Delphi ['del,fai]
 De Sono [dɪ'sonə]
 Mandana [mən'dænə]
 Martisco [,mɑr'tɪsko]
 Minoa [mə'noə]
 Mycenae [mə'sɪnə]
 Navarino [,nævə'raɪnə]
 Onativia [,ənə'tevɪə] (*sic*)
 Oran ['ɔrən]
 Otisko ['ɒtɪsko]
 Skaneateles [,skɪnɪ(j)ætɪləs,
 -tɪ,ɪz, 'skɛn-]
 Solvay ['sɒl,ve]
 Syracuse ['sɪrə,kjʊs, 'seərə; *obsoles-*
cent forms 'saɪərə-, -z]

ONTARIO CO. [,ən'teəriə]
 Aloquin [ə'lakwɪn]
 Canadice ['kænə,dais]
 Canandaigua [,kænən'degwə]
 Cuddeback ['kʌdə,bæk]
 Gorham ['gɔrəm]
 Gulick ['gʊjʊlɪk]

Guyanoga [ˌɡaɪəˈnogə]

Honeoye [ˈhɒni(j)ɔɪ]

Kashong [kəˈʃɑŋ]

Mertensia [mɜˈtɛnfə]

ORANGE CO. [ˈɔʒən(d)ʒ, ˈɑʒ-]

Berea [ˈbɛəriə]

Cähoonzie [kəˈhunzi]

Cronomer V. [ˈkrənəmɜ]

Godeffroy [ˈɡɒdfri]

Goshen [ˈɡɒʃ(ə)n]

Guymard [ˈɡaiməd]

Hugenot [ˈ(h)jugənət, -ˈnat]

Jovas [ˈdʒovəs]

Minisink [ˈmɪniˌsɪŋk]

L. Mombasha [mɒmˈbæʃə]

Mongaup [ˌmɒnˈɡɒp, -ˈɡɒp]

Monhagen L. [ˌmɒnˈhegən]

Moodna [ˈmudnə]

Nowak [ˈnoək]

Pakanasink [pəˈkænəˌsɪŋk]

Pochuck [pɒˈtʃʌk]

Popolopen Cr. [ˈpɒpəˌlɒpən]

Ramapo R. [ˈræməˌpɒ]

Rio [ˈraɪo, ˈrio]

Schunemunk Mt. [ˈʃuˌmʌŋk]

L. Sebago [sɪˈbego]

Van Keuren [ˌvænˈkjuʒən]

Wawayanda Cr. [ˌwewəˈjandə]

ORLEANS CO. [ˈɔʒˌlinz]

Barre [ˈbæəri, ˈbɛəri]

Carlyon [ˈkɑʒˌliən, -ˌljən]

Jeddo [ˈdʒɛdo]

Knowlesville [ˈnɒlzˌvɪl]

Kucksville [ˈkʊksˌvɪl]

Lyndonville [ˈlɪndənˌvɪl]

Medina [məˈdɪnə]

Pusel [ˈpjuˌs(ə)l]

OSWEGO CO. [ˌɒsˈwigö, (ə)ˈswi-]

Albion [ˈælbɪən]

Altmar [ˈæltˌmɑɜ]

Caughdenoy [ˈkɒdn̩ˌɔɪ]

Colosse [kəˈlɒs]

Constantia [kənˈstæn(t)ʃə]

Kasoag [kəˈsɒg]

Lacona [ləˈkɒnə]

L. Neatahwanta [ˌnitəˈwantə]

Palermo [pəˈlɜmo]

Pulaski [pəˈlæsˌkaɪ]

Sala [ˈselə]

Scriba [ˈskrɪbə]

Volney [ˈvɒlni]

OTSEGO CO. [ˌɒtˈsigo]

Candarago L. [ˌkændəˈrɒgo]

Cooperstown [ˈkʊpɜˌtaʊn]

Decatur [diˈketɜ]

Deowongo I. [ˌdiöˈwɒŋgo]

Edmeston [ˈɛdməstən]

Laurens [ˈlɔʒənz]

Oneonta [ˌoniˈ(j)antə]

Otego Cr. [öˈtigo]

Otsdawa [ˈɒtsˌdɔ]

Roseboom [ˈrɒzˌbʊm]¹⁸

Schenevus [skəˈnivəs]

Susquehanna R. [ˌsʌskwɪˈhænə]

Unadilla [ˌjunəˈdɪlə, ˈʌnəˌdɪlə]

Cape Wikoff Mt. [ˈwaɪˌkɒf]

Worcester [ˈwʊstɜ]

PUTNAM CO. [ˈpʌtnəm]

L. Glenida [ˌglɛnˈaɪdə]

Mahopac [ˈmeöˌpæk]

RENSELAER CO.

[ˌrɛn(t)s(ə)lˈɪə, ˈrɛn(t)s(ə)lɜ]

Albia [ˈælbɪə]

Aries L. [ˈɛəriˌz]

18. Dutch *rozeboom* [ˈrɔːzəˈboːm], 'sweetbriar.'

Averill Pk. [ˈævə,(r)ɪl]	Eben [ˈɛbən]
Berlin [ˈbɜːlən]	Gouverneur [ˌɡʌvəˈnuːə, -ˈnɜː, ˈɡuv-, -ɜː-]
Couse [kaʊs]	Hailesboro [ˈhelz,bɜːo]
Defreestville [dɪˈfrɪst,vɪl]	Hannawa Fs. [ˈhænə,wɑ]
Hoag Cors. [hɒɡ]	Helena [həˈlɪnə]
Hoosic Fs. [ˈhusɪk, -z-]	Heuvelton [ˈhjuv(ə)ltən]
Moordener Kill [ˈmɔːdnɜː,kɪl]	Lalone I. [ləˈlon]
Papscanee Cr. [ˈpæpskə,ni]	Long Sault I. [ˈlɔːˈsu]
Pixtaway Is. [ˈpɪkstə,we]	Massawepie [ˌmæsəˈwɪpi]
Poestenkill [ˈpʊs(ə)n,kɪl, ˈpostən-]	Massena [məˈsɪnə]
Quackenkill [ˈkwækən,kɪl]	Mt. Matumbla [məˈtʌmblə]
Reichard [ˈraɪkət]	McCuen P. [məˈkjuːnz] (<i>sic</i>)
Rensselaer [ˌrɛn(t)s(ə)lˈɪɜː]	Monterey [ˌmʌntəˈre]
Rysedorph H. [ˈraɪz,dɔːf]	Nyando [ˌnaɪˈ(j)ændo] ¹⁹
Schaghticoke [ˈʃkæti,kʊk, ˈʃæt-]	Oswegatchie [ˌɔswɪˈɡatʃi] ²⁰
Schodack [ˈsko,dæk, -dək]	Pierrepont [ˈpɪr,pʌnt]
Spiegletown [ˈspɪɡl,tʌʊn]	Pyrites [ˈpɪrɪ,dɪz, ˈpɛɜː-, pəˈraɪtɪz]
Sunkauissia Cr. [ˈsʌnkənsə] (<i>sic</i>)	Rensselaer Fs. [ˌrɛn(t)slɜː]
Tackawasic [ˌtækəˈwʌsɪk]	Sevey [ˈsɪvi]
Tomhannock [ˌtʌmˈhænək]	Stalbird [ˈstɔl,bɜːd]
Van Hoesen [ˌvænˈh(j)ʊz(ə)n]	Talcville [ˈtælk,vɪl]
Vierda Kill [ˈvɪɔdə,kɪl]	Tunkethandle H. [ˈtʌŋkɪt,hændl]
Vlockie Kill [ˈvlɒki,kɪl]	Wanakena [ˌwʌnəˈkɪnə]
Waloomsac [ˌwʌˈlum,sæk]	Wegatchie [wɪˈɡætʃi]
Wyomanock [ˌwaɪəˈmænək]	
SAINT LAWRENCE CO.	
[ˌsentˈlɔːən(t)s, -ˈlɑː-]	
Boice [bɔɪs]	
Brasie Cors. [ˈbresi, -zi]	
Caneross Cr. [ˈkænɜː,(r)ɔs]	
Childwold [ˈtʃaɪldwɔl]	
Chippewa B. [ˈtʃɪpɪ,wɑ]	
De Grasse [dɪˈɡræs]	
De Kalb Jct. [dɪˈkælb]	
De Peyster [dɪˈpaɪstɜː]	
Dishaws [ˈdɪʃ,ɔz]	
SARATOGA CO. [ˌsæɜːəˈtogə, ˌsɛɜː-]	
Ballston Spa [ˈbɔlstən ˈspɑ, ˈspɔ]	
Batchelleville [ˈbætʃ(ə)lɜː,vɪl] (<i>sic</i>)	
Beacon H. [ˈbekən] (<i>sic</i>)	
L. Bonita [bəˈnɪtə]	
Conklingville [ˈkʌŋklɪn,vɪl] (<i>sic</i>)	
Corinth [kəˈrɪn(t)θ, ˈkɔːɪn(t)θ, ˈkɑː-]	
Dwaas Kill [ˈdwaz,kɪl]	
Elnora [ˌɛlˈnɔːə]	
Galway [ˈɡæl,we]	

19. Not Indian, but named after the New York and Ontario Railroad.

20. Dr. Flick does not believe the local legend that the name originated in the cry of a resident Indian on recapturing his oft-straying beast; 'Ass, we got you!'

Gansevoort ['gænzvɔrt, -vʊɔrt]
 Glowedgee Cr. [ˌgləʊ(w)ɪdʒi]
 Kaydeross Be. ['kɛdərɔs]
 Kennyetto Cr. [ˌkɛnɪ(j)ɛto]
 Loughberry L. ['lʌf,bɛəri]
 Maltaville ['mɔltəvɪl]
 Moreau P. [mə'ro]
 Vischer Ferry ['vɪʃəz] (*sic*)

SCHENECTADY CO. [skə'nɛktədi]²¹
 Alplaus ['ɔl,plɔs, 'æl-]
 Binne Kill ['bɪni,kɪl]
 Braman Cors. ['brɛmənz] (*sic*)
 Delanson [dɪ'læn(t)s(ə)n]
 Duanesburg ['dwɛnz,bɜ:g]
 Fetherstonhaugh L.
 ['fɛðst(ə)n,hɔ]
 Hoffman's ['hɔfmənz]
 Kinaquariones H. [ˌkɪnəkə'ron]
 Lisha Kill ['laɪʃə,kɪl]
 Mariaville [mə'raɪəvɪl]
 Niskayuna [ˌnɪskɪ'junə]
 Plotterkill ['plɪtər,kɪl]²²
 Poentic Kill [pö'(w)ɛntɪk,kɪl]
 Rynex Cors. ['raməks]
 Sandsea Kill ['sæn(d)sɪ,kɪl]
 Scotia ['skɔʃə]
 Toureuna H. [ˌtaʊər'jun(ə)]
 Van Slyck Is. [vən'slaɪk]
 Verf Kill ['vɜ:f,kɪl]
 Yantapuchaberg H.
 [ˌjantə'putʃə,bɜ:g]

SCHOHARIE CO. [skə'hæəri, -'hɛəri]
 Blenheim ['blɛn,hæm]
 Breakabeen ['brɛkə,bɪn]
 Carlisle [ˌkɑr'laɪl]

Cobleskill ['kɒbz,kɪl]²³
 Dorloo ['dɔr,lu]
 Esperance ['ɛsprən(t)s]
 Fultonham ['fʊltən,hæm, -nəm]
 Gilboa [ˌgɪl'boə, 'gɪl,bɔɪ]
 Hallenbecks ['hələn,bɛks]
 Hyndsville ['hæm(d)z,vɪl]
 Patria ['pætriə]
 Rossman P. ['rasmən]
 Sharon ['ʃɛrən]
 Utsayantha Mt. [ˌʊtsɪ'jæn(t)θə]
 Vintonton ['vɪntən,tən]
 Vrooman ['vrɒmən]²⁴
 Vrooman's Nose ['vrɒmənz 'noʊz]

SCHUYLER CO. ['skɑɪlər]
 Altay ['alti]
 Cayuta [ˌke'jutə]
 Lamoka [lə'mokə]
 Montour Fs. [ˌmən'tʊər]
 Tobehanna [ˌtɒbi'hænə]
 Valois [və'lɔɪs]

SENECA CO. ['sɛnɪkə]
 Canoga [kə'nɒgə]
 Cosad ['kɒsəd]
 Covert ['kovɜ:t]
 Kendaia [ˌkɛn'deə]
 Lodi ['lo,dɑɪ]
 Ovid ['ovɪd]

STEBEN CO. [stʊ'bɛn]
 Avoca [ə'vokə]
 Buena Vista [ˌbjunə'vɪstə]
 Canataga Cr. [ˌkænə'təgə, -'təgə]
 Canisteo [kə'nɪstɪ(j)o, kænɪs'tɪo]
 Catawba [kə'təbə]
 Chauncey Run ['tʃən(t)sɪ]

21. Present-day inhabitants of the city of Schenectady often refer to their town as 'the Dorp' [dɔɜp].

22. See note 10.

23. From Cobus Kill.

24. The Dutch proper name was originally ['vro:man]; of the persons in this region who bear it now, some use [o] and some [u].

Cohocton [kō'həktən]
 Cowanesque R. [kōə'nɛsk]
 Ferenbaugh [f'ɛəən,bə]
 Goff Cr. [gɒf]
 Heineman H. [h'ænəmən]
 Hornell [hɔə'nɛl]
 Kanona [kə'nonə]
 Keuka [kɪ'jukə, 'kjukə, 'ki,(j)ukə]
 Onawasa Cr. [ʼənə,wəsə]
 Oskonsa Fs. [ə'skənsə]
 Pulteney [pʌltni]
 Rathbone [ræθ,bon]
 Rheims [rimz]
 Savona [sə'vonə]
 Troupsberg [trups,bɜg]
 Urbana [ɜ'benə, -bæ-]
 Van Vleet [væn'vli:t]
 Wagener Glen [wægənə]

SULLIVAN CO. [sʌlɪv(ə)n]

Acidalia [æsi'deliə, -ljə]
 Alta L. [altə]
 Anawana L. [ʼənə,wanə]
 Callicoon [kæli,kun]
 Cochection [kō'kektən]
 Dahlia [deliə, -ljə]
 Fremont [frem,ant]
 Gamauer Br. [gə'məʊ]
 Grooville [gru,vɪl]
 Homowack Kill [həmō,wæk]
 Kenoza [kə'nozə]
 Kiamesha [kaɪə'miʃə]
 Krom Hol. [krəm]
 Lava [levə]
 Lochada L. [lō'kadə]
 Mamakating [mæmə,ketɪŋ]
 Merriewold [mɛə'wɔld]
 Mileses [mə'lisiz]
 Neversink [nevə,sɪŋk]

Obernburg [obən,bɜg]
 Pakanasink Cr. [pækə'nəsɪŋk]
 Revonah L. [rɪ'vonə]
 Roosagap [roz,gæp]
 Shandalee [ʃænd(ə)l,i]
 Tennanah [tə'nænə]
 Waneta L. [wə'nitə]
 Willowemoc [wɪlō'wimək]

TIOGA CO. [tar'(j)ogə]

Appalachin [æpə'lekɪn, -kʃ(ɪ)n]
 Catatonk [kætə,tɒŋk, -tɒŋk]
 Hiawatha I. [haɪə'wəθə]
 Owego [ə'wigō]
 Wappasening Cr. [wəpə,senɪŋ]

TOMPKINS CO. [tam(p),kɪnz]

Cascadilla [kæskə'dɪlə]²⁵
 Groton [gratn, 'grɒtn]
 Halseyville [hɔlsi,vɪl]
 Ithaca [ɪθəkə, 'ɛθ-]
 Podunk [po,dʌŋk]
 Taughannock Fs. [tə'gænək]

ULSTER CO. [ʼʌlstə]

Allaben [ʼələbən]
 Alligerville [ælɪgə,vɪl]
 Ashokan [ə'ʃokən, 'æʃə,kæn]
 Awasting [ə'wastɪŋ]
 Binnewater [bɪnɪ,wɔtə]
 Bontecou Crag [bantə'ku]
 Brodhead [brəd,hɛd, 'brɒd-]
 Bruynswick [brɪnz,wɪk]
 Chichester [tʃaɪ,tʃɛstə]
 Cottekill [katə,kɪl] (*sic*)
 Coxing H. [kaksɪŋ]
 Dwaar Kill [dwaə,kɪl]
 Esopus [ɪ'sopəs]
 Fantinekill [fæn'tam,kɪl]
 Ganahgote [gænə'got]

25. Despite the resemblance of this name to that of nearby Unadilla, it seems to be Spanish for 'little waterfall.'

Guyot H. ['gajət]	Sholam ['ʃoləm]
Honk L. [hənk]	Swarte Kill ['swɔɹt,kɪl]
Kanape L. ['kænəpi]	Ticetonyk Mt. [ˌtaɪsə'tanɪk]
L. Katrine [kə'trɪn]	Tontshi Mt. ['tən,(t)ʃaɪ]
Katsbaan ['kæts,bən, -bən]	Verkeerder Kill [vɔɹ'kɪɹdɔɹ,kɪl]
Kenozia L. [kə'nɔʒi]	Vernoy Fs. [vɔɹ'nɔɪ]
Kerhonkson [kɔɹ'hənks(ə)n]	Wallkill ['wɔl,kɪl]
Kyserike [ˌkaɪzə'rik]	Wawarsing [wə'wɔɹsɪŋ]
Lackawack ['lækə,wæk]	Winnisook Lodge ['wɪnɪ,suk]
Lomontville [lə'mənt,vɪl]	
Mara Kill ['mæɹə,kɪl, 'mɛɹ-]	WARREN CO. ['wɔɹən, 'wə-]
Maratanza L. [ˌmæɹə'tænzə, 'mɛɹ-]	Adirondack [ˌædə'ran,dæk]
Marlboro ['mɑɹl,bɔɹ]	Athol ['e,θɔl]
Mettacahonts ['mɛtəkə,hən(t)s]	Cleverdale ['kleɹə,dɛl]
Minnewaska [ˌmɪnɪ'waskə]	High Nopit (Mt.) ['nəpɪt]
L. Mohonk [mɔɹ'hənɪk]	Horicon ['hɔɹəkən, 'hɑɹ-] ²⁶
Modena [mə'dɪnə]	Igerna [ɪ'gɹnə]
Mombaccus [məm'bækəs]	Juanita I. [ˌwə'nɪtə]
Montela [ˌ(,mən)'tɪlə]	Knowelhurst ['no(ə)l,hɛst]
Montoma [mən'tomə]	Lenni-Lenape I. ['lenɪlə,nɛp] ²⁷
Napanock ['næpənək]	Luzerne [lu'zɹn]
New Paltz ['nu,pɔl(t)s]	Riparius [rɪ'peɹɪəs]
Oliverea [ˌəlɪvə'riə]	Shiras P. ['ʃaɪrəs]
Palmaghatt ['pamə,gæt]	Ticonderoga ['taɪ,kandə'rogə]
Pataukunk [pə'tɔ,kʌŋk]	Wevertown ['wɪvɔɹ,təʊn]
Peekamoose ['pikə,mus]	
Phoenicia [fə'nɪʃə]	WASHINGTON CO. ['wɔʃɪŋtən]
Plattekill ['plætə,kɪl]	Anaquassacook [ˌænə'kwəsə,kuk]
Port Ewen [ˌpɔɹt 'juən]	Coila ['kɔɪlə]
Quassaic Cr. [ˌkwə'se(j)ɪk]	Cassayune [ˌkəsɪ'junə]
Relyeas ['rel,jɛ]	Glen Eyrie [ˌglɛn 'ɪɹi]
St. Remy [ˌsɛnt 'rɪmi]	Greenwich ['grɪn,wɪtʃ]
Rondout ['rənd,aʊt]	Shushan ['ʃu,ʃæn, -ʃ(ə)n]
Saugerties ['sɔʒətɪz]	Tiashoke ['taɪə,ʃok]
Schultzville ['ʃʊl(t)s,vɪl]	Wampecack Cr. ['wəmpɪ,kæk]
Shandaken [ˌʃæn'dekən]	
Shawangunk Mts. [ˌʃaŋ(g)əm]	WAYNE CO. [wen]
Shokan ['ʃokən]	Alloway ['ælo,we]

26. The inhabitants recently changed the name of this village to the banal one of Brant Lake.

27. After the so-called Delaware Indians.

Newark [ˈnuək]	Konewangus V. [ˌkanəˈwɒŋəs]
Palmira [ˌpælˈmaɪrə]	Sierkes [sɪəks]
Sodus [ˈsodəs]	Sowerby Cors. [ˈsauəbi]
Walworth [ˈwɔl,wɜθ]	Vernal [ˈvɜn]
Wolcott [ˈwɒlkət]	
Zurich [ˈzuətʃ, -ɪk]	
WYOMING CO. [ˌwaɪ(j)omɪŋ]	YATES CO. [ˌjɛts]
Castile [ˌkæsˈtaɪl]	Arey [ˈevəri, ˈevri] (sic)
Java [ˈdʒevə]	Bellona [bəˈlonə]
East Koi [kɔɪ]	Himrod [ˈhɪm,rəd]
	Milo [ˈmarlo]
	Voak [vɒk]

ADDENDUM TO 'KNOW-HOW'

I happen to be able to call attention to a use of *know-how* in print which is earlier than any of those mentioned in the February *American Speech*. John Dos Passos in *The Big Money*, 1936, at the very beginning of the sixth section, entitled 'Charley Anderson,' uses the expression, '... Charley Anderson, the boy with the knowhow.' In the Modern Library Giant edition of *U.S.A.*, this passage is on page 287 of *The Big Money*.

EDWARD FLETCHER

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'WHODUNIT' AGAIN

When the name *whodunit* for the mystery story was coined and by whom is a question often asked. Mr. Stewart Sterling, author of *Five*

Alarm Funeral (1942), attributed its first use to *Variety* in 1932, when it was employed to describe Mr. Sterling's 'Crime Clues,' a radio program which was beginning a five-year run. This ascription was challenged by J. A. McKaughan of Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., who pointed out that Donald Gordon of the American News Company coined the term earlier than its use by *Variety* and exhibited as evidence an advertisement from Gordon's hand of *'Half-Mast Murder*, by Milward Kennedy—A satisfactory *whodunit*' on page 10 of the *American News of Books* for July, 1930. Those interested may find a discussion of the matter by C. B. Boutell ('Who Done "Whodunit"?') in *The Publishers' Weekly* for April, 1942.

L. P.

OLYMPIANS, HURRICANES, AND VULTURES

ARTHUR MINTON

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THIS STUDY encompasses the names of some six hundred adolescent boys' clubs in Brooklyn, New York. These clubs are formed by boys who are associated in school or in a neighborhood. When the members are in the early teens, the activities of the clubs are mainly athletic; teams are put on the field to suit the seasons. Thus a large number of these clubs are called 'Athletic Clubs,' or, more commonly, 'A. C.'s'—e.g., *Triangles A. C.* and *Avons A. C.* (The plural forms are remarked on below.) In the later teens life becomes more complex and less stern; the 'Social and Athletic Club' comes into being, this term being shortened to 'S. A. C.,' as in *Blue Sox S. A. C.*

Among the club names collected the predominant connotations are of power, speed, and aggressiveness, with sinisterness as a muted counter-melody. The most popular source of such names is the animal world. Thence are found:

<i>Elks</i>	<i>Cats</i>	<i>Bruins</i>	<i>Rattlers</i>
<i>Rams</i>	<i>Leopards</i>	<i>Greyhounds</i>	<i>Cobras</i>
<i>Lions</i>	<i>Reindeers</i>	<i>Whippets</i>	<i>Wasps</i>
<i>Tigers</i>	<i>Panthers</i>	<i>Bulldogs</i>	<i>Bees</i>
<i>Jaguars</i>	<i>Bears</i>	<i>Foxes</i>	<i>Mustangs</i>
<i>Wildcats</i>	<i>Barracudas</i>		

There is a considerable ornithological roll, e.g., *Falcons*, *Condors*, *Hawks*, *Eagles*, *Golden Eagles*; but not all the bird names connote the life of violence, e.g., *Orioles*, *Robins*, *Quails*, *Redbirds*, *Sparrows*, *Redwings*, *Bluebirds*. As will be shown later, the factors determining the choice of club names are not always apparent. So, in *Skylarks* and *Ravens* there may be some influence of movie titles (and of the original play and the poem); while the energetic advertising of a corn plaster bearing the name may have weighed in the choice of *Blue Jays*.

In contrast to the rich zoological yieldings, the vegetable realm furnishes only *Sumacs* and *Clovers*. The latter, presumably, has more symbolic than botanical signification. But *Sumacs* is a genuine breath from the back lots.

The sinister connotative element in these names no doubt derives somewhat from 'horror' works of movies and radio—as in *Bats*, *Spiders*, and *Vultures*. It is likely that the *Coyotes* chose their name because of its vague associations with Western romance rather than because of any

intimate knowledge of the habits and social status of those animals.

A few terms from inanimate nature reflect the power-speed motif: *Hurricanes, Lightnings, Thunderbolts, Comets. Rainbows* and *Zephyrs* contribute rare gestures to the softer side.

The theme of power-speed-aggressiveness is continued in club names from miscellaneous areas, including such bristling specimens as:

<i>Rebels</i>	<i>Commandos</i>	<i>Fighters</i>	<i>Titans</i>
<i>Manglers</i>	<i>Avengers</i>	<i>Raiders</i>	<i>Scouters</i>
<i>Flaming Arrows</i>	<i>Daredevils</i>	<i>Gremlins</i>	<i>Sentinels</i>
<i>Satans</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Challengers</i>	<i>Buccaneers</i>
<i>Robbers</i>	<i>Darts</i>	<i>Spirited Boys</i>	<i>Black Squadron</i>
<i>Daggers</i>	<i>Shields</i>	<i>Airplanes</i>	<i>Demons</i>
<i>Roy Rippers</i>	<i>Wizards</i>	<i>Torpedoes</i>	<i>Diablos</i>
<i>Streaks</i>	<i>Chargers</i>	<i>Spartans</i>	<i>Planeteers</i>
<i>Flashes</i>			

These names, selected by boys when not under adult tutelage, reflect a disarming indifference to ethical implications. The *Desperadoes, Hellcats, Forty Thieves, Crusaders, Templars, and Rainbow Knights* are united in a passionate interest in scrambling after a football.

Indian names, a few of them apparently synthetic, carry on the theme of aggressiveness in a more conventionally romantic form: *Mohawks, Apaches, Aztecs, Iroquois, Pawnees, Cherokees, Blackfeet, Navajos, Mowahickes, Mohaskas*. Exoticism goes farther afield in *Anzacs, Maltese, Mongols, and Celts*. Names like these last are chosen for contemporary or historical associations that may be vague in the boys' minds, rather than for allusion to the racial strains of the club members. One recalls a club known as the *Celtics* (echoing the name of a famous professional basketball team), which possessed jackets with that proud device on the back. Under the pocket of each jacket was its owner's name: *Izzy, Moe, Irv, etc.*

In another group of club names the emphasis is on power as reflected in social, professional, or legendary rank:

<i>Park Way Kings</i>	<i>Imperials</i>	<i>Titans</i>	<i>Majors</i>
<i>Kelly Kings</i>	<i>Olympians</i>	<i>Rex</i>	<i>Dukes</i>
<i>Princes</i>	<i>Sir Docs</i>	<i>Royal Ameri-</i>	<i>Viceroy</i>
<i>Rajahs</i>	<i>Diplomats</i>	<i>cans</i>	<i>Bishops</i>
<i>Sultans</i>	<i>Barons</i>		

Included with these last might be the demure *Angels*.

Perhaps a sardonic commentary on some rivals in this last group was intended by the club that chose the cosy appellation *Punks*. It was re-

ported that this same outfit has a feminine cheering section known as the Punkettes.

In sharp contrast to the power-aggressiveness group is a small but well defined group that might be called the rakish:

<i>Top Hats</i>	<i>Stompers</i>	<i>627 Stomps</i>	<i>Strutters</i>
<i>Top Hatters</i>	<i>Hepcats</i>	<i>Jolly Stompers</i>	<i>Vagabonds</i>
<i>Night Owls</i>	<i>Esquires</i>	<i>Jokers</i>	<i>Jolly Rogers</i>
<i>Silk Tops</i>	<i>Jolly Jesters</i>	<i>Swanks</i>	
<i>Ramblers</i>	<i>Royal Jesters</i>		

The night-club note enters in *Club A*. As for *Club 11*, however, inquiry showed that the connotations of that name are wider than the innocent adult would suspect; it is the name of a football eleven.

Another minor division consists of names referring to local areas and larger geographical units:

<i>New Yorkers</i>	<i>Bay Pals</i> (Sheepshead Bay)
<i>Midtowns</i>	<i>Island Boys</i> (Coney Island)
<i>Crowns</i> (Crown Heights)	<i>Pennsylvanias</i>
<i>Quincy Aces</i> (Quincy Street)	<i>Virginians</i>
<i>Navy Street Boys</i>	

On rare occasions culture intrudes in the form of historical and literary allusions: *Romans*, *Alobroges* (*sic*), *Renaissance*.

Overtones of previously noticed types will be found in the *Dodgers*, *Yankees*, and *Giants*—after the professional ball teams—and in the following names, which are less easy to classify:

<i>Elves</i>	<i>Diamonds</i>	<i>Torches</i>	<i>Impossibles</i>
<i>Caravans</i>	<i>Emeralds</i>	<i>Fleeters</i>	<i>Marvels</i>
<i>Brown Buddies</i>	<i>Peaks</i>	<i>Audacs</i>	<i>Resolutes</i>

The boys show a marked interest in the independent creation of names. For example, compounds are made containing elements derived from the names of localities:

<i>Mid-kings</i> (Midwood Street plus kings; or Kings County plus mid)
<i>Ken Keens</i> (Kent Street plus keen)
<i>Atlams</i> (probably referring to Atlantic Avenue)
<i>Brookheights</i> (Brooklyn Heights)
<i>Bedlees</i> (Bedford and Lee Avenues)
<i>Starsons</i> (Star Street)

It was not possible to determine the origin of certain names having a Joycean smack: *Elorsems*, *Revenoor*, *Muciles*, *Shaco Boys*, *Ken Decs*. Con-

cerning *Brimonts* it could be learned only that the name had been taken over from an adult lodge. *Deccars* suggests a brand of phonograph record, the Decca. *Wasco* looks like *wasp* merged with the ending *co*. The latter is prominent in the names of commercial products. Besides, the *o*-ending carries picaresque overtones associated with some Spanish-English words: *caballero*, *sombrero*, *rancho*. A member of the *Sacoots* said that the club name signifies 'some strange animal.'

It is possible that some club names of this last category are merely impressive syllabic combinations, without clearly perceived denotative origins. When, for whatever reason, there is no well defined interest in a name carrying connotations of the preferred types, it seems that a name may be taken for its sound alone. This fact was brought to attention in *Stevedores A. C.*; it is doubtful that many members of the *Stevedores* knew the meaning of the word. Likewise, a member of the *Paragons*, on being asked how the name happened to be chosen, could say only that 'it's like a tradition.' It was evident that the meaning of the word had hardly been taken into consideration. Some obscure fascination of the physical form of the names also seems to be the main factor in the choice of *Astions*, *Avalons*, *Phyton*s, *Savoys*, *Tangents*, *Renands*, and *V Trions*.

A curious result of striving for originality is found in *Teigers*. A member of the club said the name is so spelled 'because *Tigers* is too common.' *Tru Pals* may also be noticed here.

In contradistinction to ordinary usage, the plural form of these names is customarily used, even when the name is followed by a generic term indicative of the type of organization. Thus one does not hear of the *Trylon A. C.*, as might be expected, but of the *Trylons A. C.*; likewise, *Incas A. C.*, *Trojans A. C.*, *Doughboys Baseball Club*, *Lucky Boys S. A. C.*, *Excelsiors A. C.*, *Phantoms A. C.* In *Cosmos A. C.*, *Cosmos* is, of course, understood to be a plural. The usage is carried out even when the name is adjectival in origin, e.g., *Royals A. C.* and *Majestics A. C.*; or, still more strangely, when the name is that of a place, e.g., *Skunk Hollows A. C.*

Another peculiarity is the treatment as plurals of singular nouns ending in a sibilant: *Lynx A. C.*, *Ajax A. C.*, *Rex A. C.*, *Renaissance A. C.* The boys would say, 'The Skulls will play the Albatross in Prospect Park next Saturday.' Plurals such as *Lynxes*, *Ajaxes*, and *Albatrosses* are unheard of.

Even through direct inquiry it is not always easy to determine the factors entering into the choice of names, or confidently to classify names in respect to their intended connotations. The boys' knowledge of a term may involve little or none of its denotation, and of its connotation nothing but vague associations with the context in which it has been encountered. And even those vague associations may not be the ones mainly at-

tached to it by the more sophisticated. Thus, to the adult *Ajax* or *Shangri La* will perhaps call up mainly literary associations. Such associations are likely to be dim at best for most boys. The occurrence of *Ajax* as a popular trade name and of *Shangri La* as the name of a naval plane carrier—these circumstances are likely to be most strongly operative for the boys. Shall we take the choice of *Vespers* as a touching sign of hushed devoutness? If so, we shall be quite mistaken. A member of that club explained that the name was chosen because all its members have jobs in the evening. Another surprising direction of thought is shown in *Bengals*. The name was chosen as a tribute to one Benny Gallo, who happened to be in the hospital when the club was formed.

The verbal mechanisms last noted are not without importance for the more general study of language. In them it is possible to find factors of 'adventitious' or 'illogical' association that operate to some degree in all expression, even the most cultivated. Perhaps in more than a merely figurative sense this occurrence of 'adventitious' association parallels the modern physicist's conception of the operation of chance in causation.

These same 'adventitious' factors enter into reading too. The boys who call their football team *Club 11* are disregarding the 'logical' boundaries of association areas in the same manner as the college student who could not make out what chorus girls ('bare ruin'd choirs where late the sweet birds sang') were doing in Shakespeare's Sonnet 73. But the workings of such 'illogical' association in reading have been treated at length in I. A. Richards' *Practical Criticism*.

A study of the names of girls' clubs is now in progress. The few examples already on hand promise poetry of a different kind from the boys': *Moonlight Girls*, *Rockettes*, *Sparkies*, *Blue Sapphires*, *Sepia Debs*. However, to judge by *Kroywens* (*New York* backwards, of course), *Pandoras*, and *Flying Fortresses* (the name of a co-ed organization), the girls resemble the boys in showing a forthright indifference to some of the suggestions contained in the names.

A contrast to this indifference was shown, however, in the resourcefulness of the Fulton S. C., an organization of youths having quarters in a store near Fulton Street, Brooklyn. From time to time clubs so housed are the subject of journalistic tongue-clicking. During one such burst the Fulton Club carried on as usual—radio blaring, colored paper streamers hanging from the ceiling, young fellows noisily taking their ease at the door. But a new blazon appeared on the window of the premises: 'Robert Fulton Civic League.'

THE LITERATURE OF PIDGIN ENGLISH

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PROBABLY the least-known literature in the world is the literature of South Sea pidgin English. Pacific pidgin—or beach-la-mar as it is often called to distinguish it from the original pidgin of the China coast—has a history of slightly more than 150 years. It was born on the east coast of Australia at the close of the eighteenth century. That it developed independently of Chinese pidgin is shown by the fact that there are no more than a handful of resemblances between the vocabularies of these two bastard languages. That there are many similarities in construction between the two pidgins is beside the point. Elementary construction of all languages has passed through the same phases.

Pacific pidgin was the original Basic English (Chinese pidgin contains too many Chinese words to merit this description). A pidgin speaker's vocabulary needs no more than 400 words for all ordinary purposes. The maximum vocabulary is less than 1,000 words (including about 600 nouns and 50 verbs, of which nearly a half are created by adding *-im* to an English verb, e.g., *backim*, to return, *getupim*, to arouse, *ope-im*, to open).

Ignored and scorned (and largely unknown) by the rest of the world, Pacific pidgin is now spoken by millions of people. Its primary merit is its utility. Its major—and enduring—demerit is that it is compounded of imbecile baby talk, vulgarism, and scraps of native dialects. Whereas Basic English is the product of scientific brains, Pacific pidgin was mainly born through the efforts of illiterate offscourings of English ports, prisons, and slums, and of American traders and adventurers.

Probably the most comprehensive book on beach-la-mar¹ to date is Edgar Sheppard Sayer's *Pidgin English* (Toronto, 1939),² but Sayer makes one important error. He writes:

[Pidgin English literature] does not exist. . . . Excepting for a few poems which have been translated and which may be obtained from the East, I have not heard of any literature on the subject, nor have I been able to find any after a search in the public libraries of leading cities of the world.

Sayer's ignorance is excusable. None of the leading Australian libraries, for instance, possesses copies of the pidgin books mentioned in this article. The fact remains, however, that, tucked away in a corner of the world

1. *Beach-la-mar* was the title given by William Churchill to his book on Pacific pidgin, published by the Carnegie Institute in 1911.

2. The present article was written in 1943, apparently before Mr. Baker had access to *Melanesian Pidgin English*, by Robert A. Hall, Jr.—THE EDITORS.

where many U. S. and Australian soldiers have died to drive out the Japanese, pidgin literature has flourished for nearly ten years.

For this literature we owe a doubtful debt of gratitude to New Guinea missions. 'Doubtful' is a modest word when we examine what the missions have done. If Pacific pidgin is utilitarian—and probably few people would question that point—it is primarily utilitarian as a spoken language. It is essentially a language of the moment, used to convey simple ideas in the briefest understandable fashion. If a large proportion of its words are clumsy, ugly perversions of English originals it is because these words have become the lowest common denominator of understanding between white and native. While they remain spoken, they remain flexible. But to reduce pidgin to a written language is to thrust it into a rigid mould. This is what the missions have done—and probably are still doing.

The great merit of Basic English is that it is a door to the English language as a whole. In accepting certain limitations in primary vocabulary it does not cut itself adrift from the remainder of the language. That is why it is ideal for introducing children and foreigners to English.

The limitations imposed by reducing pidgin to print, however, slam and lock the door on the English language. Moreover, the printing of pidgin not only robs it of flexibility and the possibility of enlargement, but is splitting pidgin into distinct dialects, thus taking away its primary merit of being a utilitarian *lingua franca*.

Here are a few cullings from the Alexishafen *Word Buk* to show what these printed distortions look like: *enaderfelo*, another one; *dertifelo*, dirty; *hariap*, hurry up; *tekimaut*, take away, out; *pulimaut*, pull out; *aderkaind*, another sort; *detineter*, detonator; *goverment*, government; *meknois*, make a noise.

Among the products of the Alexishafen Mission is a *Primer* for the teaching of young natives in mission schools. In its essentials it is the sort of book we all had when we first went to school to show us how to shape written letters. It is illustrated.

Here are some of the words young students of pidgin learn: *oleboi*, old man (from old boy); *foldaun*, to fall down; *hambag*, bother (humbug); *kamap*, to arrive (come up); *wokobaut*, to travel, move (walk about); *machis*, matches; *yesa*, yes sir; *andernit*, underneath; *wottaim*, what is the time?; *sospen*, saucepan; *jag*, jug; *ambrela*, umbrella; *fulap*, full of (full up); *swelap*, to swell up; *kranki*, angry (cranky).

Another Alexishafen publication is *Frend Belong Mi* (My Friend), which has been issued at monthly intervals since 1935. Early issues were reproduced from typescript. Since 1940 they have been printed. Yearly bound volumes are (or were) obtainable.

Friend Belong Mi is primarily religious in subject matter. But it also contains material aimed at interesting the native mind: pidgin crossword puzzles, problems, jokes, translations of fairy tales, astronomy; notes on animals and insects.

The following explanation of modern radio is taken from this journal:

Wairless i gudfelo samting! Em i samting bilong hariap tru. Wanfelo master i sindaun long haf long liklik mashin, finger bilong em i faitim mashin, nau elektrik bilong mashin i salim tok i go longwe mor. Olrait, longwe mor wanfelo aderfelo master i sindaun long liklik mashin, em i save hirim disfelo tok. . . .

(Wireless is good. It is swift. A man sits at a small machine and taps with his finger and electricity sends his message a long way. A long way away another man sits at another machine and understands the message.)

Here is a list of other Alexishafen publications in pidgin:

Skul belong Evangelio, an explanation of the Gospels.

Stori belong ol Santu, the lives of the Saints.

Holahi-haho, a song book for natives.

Santu Aloisius, the life of St. Aloisius.

Yesus em i Forman belong yumi, Jesus our model (in three books).

Liklik Katolik Baibel, a Bible history for primary grades.

Buk belong beten end singsing, a prayer book and hymnal.

Bigfelo Katolik Baibel, the Old Testament only.

Pidgin books have also been printed by the Catholic Mission at Vunapope (I have a copy of *Buk-raring na singsing*, containing prayers and songs) and the Methodist Overseas Mission at Rabaul (*Pidgin Him Buk*, including the Gospel according to St. Mark, together with short prayers and some questions from the Catechism).

Unfortunately, the missions have not agreed on any common standard of the pidgin they print. The books of one mission are, as a result, almost wholly unintelligible to the natives of another mission. In this way pidgin is being corrupted into dialects.

Here are some quotes in point—first, the Lord's Prayer as rendered by the Alexishafen Mission and by the Vunapope Mission:

Alexishafen:

Fader bilong mifelo, yu stop long heven—Ol i santum nem bilong yu—Kingdom bilong yu i kam—Ol i hirim tok bilong yu long graund olsem long heven. Tude givim mifelo kaikai bilong de—Forgivim rong bilong mifelo—olsem mifelo forgivim rong—ol i mekim long mifelo. Yu no bringim mifelo long traiim—tekewe samting no gud long mifelo. Amen.

Vunapope:

Papa bolong mipela i stap antap—naim bolong ju i tambu—lotu bolong ju i kam—mipela daun olosem ol antap i harim tok bolong ju—ju bringim kaikai tede bolong

mipela—ju larim mipela i olosem mipela i larim ol, ol i mekim nogut mipela—ju no bringim mipela klostu long rot i nogut—ju lusim ol samting nogut i raus long mipela. Amen.

The Sign of the Cross as rendered by these two missions:

Alexishafen:

Long nem bilong Fader end bilong Son end bilong Spiritu Santu. Amen.

Vunapope:

Long naim bolong Papa, na bolong Pikinini, na bolong Debel Takondo. Amen.

The Ten Commandments in two conflicting versions:

Alexishafen:

- 1) Mi Master, God bilong yu, yu no ken mekim masalai end ol tambaran.
- 2) Yu no ken kolim nating nem bilong God.
- 3) Yu mast santuim sande.
- 4) Yu mast mekim gud long papamama bilong yu.
- 5) Yu no ken kilim man.
- 6) Yu no ken brukim fashin bilong marit.
- 7) Yu no ken stilim samting.
- 8) Yu no ken lai.
- 9) Yu no ken duim meri bilong enaderfelo man.
- 10) Yu no ken laik stilim samting.

Vunapope:

- 1) Ju lotu long Deo vanpela tasol.
- 2) Ju no kolim nating naim bolong Deo Masta bolong ju.
- 3) Long sande ju lotu na ju tambu long vok.
- 4) Ju hamamas long papa na mama bolong ju.
- 5) Ju no mekim dai vanpela man.
- 6) Ju no pilai nogut.
- 7) Ju no sitil.
- 8) Ju no gijaman.
- 9) Ju no laikim meri bolong narapela man.
- 10) Ju no laikim ologeta samting bolong narapela man.

No official publications in pidgin English had been issued by the Australian Administration in New Guinea before the war, although Administration officials used pidgin verbally in their dealings with the natives.³

In view of the official attitude towards printed pidgin, it is to be regretted that the Australian Government has taken no official action to check the objectionable practices of New Guinea missions:

- (1) In publishing pidgin books of any description.

3. Allied Servicemen in New Guinea have been issued the pidgin handbook since the beginning of 1943. *A New Guinea Pidgin English Dictionary* was published in Townsville, Queensland, in 1937, and has since been reissued. *The Pacific Islands Year Book*, published in Sydney, contains a pidgin vocabulary.

(2) In making no effort whatsoever to wean the natives away from pidgin.

(3) In adding confusion to confusion by making no effort to standardize either pidgin teaching or pidgin printing.

One does not need to know overmuch of New Guinea history to realize that the missions have been too busy convert-hunting to give these matters the attention they deserve.

PRESS NOTES

Norah Lofts, author of *The Golden Fleece*, a story about the doings in an English inn in the days of 1817, dispenses, without making her dialogue seem too modern for her setting, with the forced 'odsbodikin talk' customary in novels placed in older English days, terming it 'Godwottery.' Noted in *New York Times Book Review*, January 16, 1944.

Cheeriodical headed the quotation of an optimistic passage by the late Frank Crane in a small commercial periodical.

'Jeepherders Lose to Kearney' is the heading of a newspaper paragraph from Omaha telling of the victory of the Kearney Army Air Base over the Fort Crook Jeepherders in a basketball game.

'A new volunteer committee of Southern California women, the *All-Year Convoyettes*, has been formed to help turn official servicemen's trips through the areas into interesting sight-seeing trips.'—*Union Pacific Bulletin*, December, 1943, p. 2.

A correspondent inquires which is 'correct,' *flier* or *flyer*. Both spellings are authorized by dictionaries and both are in reputable use. Witness, '. . . the trails are a bugaboo to Allied *fliers*,' *Life*, December 20, 1943, p. 13; 'Hawking Terms for *Flyers*,' *New York Times*, October 26, 1943; 'American *Flyer* Finds Germany Bomb Happy,' *Yank, the Army Weekly*, December 17, 1943, p. 5; 'Central City *flier* killed in crash,' Associated Press news item, March 30, 1944.

WORDS AND THE WAR*

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WHEN I JOINED the Army some time ago in a very humble capacity I saw an opportunity to study a department of language that is somewhat of a mystery to the civilian. I soon discovered, however, that a military vocabulary consists in the main of a highly specialized professional jargon, composed largely of terms that denote the insides of weapons and the complexities of drill and manoeuvres. Two somewhat contradictory features of this technical vocabulary stood out. There was, first, a desire to economize by using initials and abbreviations, so that the military neophyte wades through a sea of terms like *A.V.F.* (Armoured Fighting Vehicle), *L.M.G.* (Light Machine Gun), and so on. Opposed to this is a tendency which prevails in the British Army to use what I believe are called \$5 words. An officer not attached to any particular group of men is a *supernumerary*, a list of names is a *nominal roll*. This habit probably goes back to the more leisurely days of the 18th and 19th centuries, but it is carried over to purely modern developments in warfare. Thus no self-respecting soldier talks of his *gas-mask*, but his *respirator*, while the process by which one gets rid of the after-effects of poison gas, an amenity confined to modern warfare, is known as *personal decontamination*. Terms such as these are naturally often distorted in the speech of the ordinary soldier; thus a command used in connection with a very modern weapon—*Action imminent*—generally becomes *Action eminent* in the mouth of the N.C.O.

These are perhaps the two most striking characteristics of a vocabulary that is on the whole pretty technical. I am referring here of course to official military terminology and not the colloquial language of men in the services. That is quite a different matter, which will be discussed briefly later.

I propose to examine a group of words that have obtained more popular currency during the present war, to note the ways in which they have been created, and perhaps to hazard a guess as to which of them may become permanent additions to our vocabulary. This is a big subject that can only be sketched here.

A useful approach to this fresh stratum of words is to observe how the new war terms reflect linguistic processes that have frequently operated in the past and added to the resources of our language. Let us begin

* A paper read at the New York meeting of the American Dialect Society, Christmas, 1943.

with words derived from personal and place names. There are already a large number of such words in the language; well-known examples are *mackintosh*, *hansom* (cab), *sandwich*, *yarborough*, *grog*, *boycott*, all from names of persons, and *arras*, *canteloupe*, *currant*, *muslin*, *poplin* from names of places. A few war words have been formed in this way. Two obvious examples of names derived from persons are *Quisling* and *Mae West*. This is perhaps the first occasion on which these two rather incongruous phenomena of 20th century civilization have been bracketed together, and I can think of no feature that they possess in common except that each of them has contributed a very useful item to contemporary military terminology. The term *Quisling* has become so universally accepted that it may well go down to posterity as a synonym of a particularly unpleasant type of traitor. The word seems to have a sound-symbolism that makes it effective, and in the Scandinavian languages there are words not unlike it which mean a miserable wretch. By back-formation we may get to *quisle*, just as *groveling* has given us *to grovel*, and I have met this verb both in the past form *quisled* and the present participle *quisling*. *Quisling* would also fill a gap in our vocabulary to denote a specialized meaning of the word *traitor*, the special kind of traitor who accepts office in order to collaborate with the aggressor. As far as I know, there is no one word for this in English. Let us hope that with happier times we shall not need it, but it will probably survive, if only as a historical term.

Mae West is used in several senses. It is best known as applied to the inflatable rubber life-belt which has saved many an airman's life after he has been forced to bail out over water. I need not enter into the anatomical details which throw light on this term, but one wonders what definition the dictionaries of the future will give if it survives as standard equipment in an age when air travel is universal and the younger generation have never had the privilege of seeing *Mae West* on the screen or stage. One of the most interesting linguistic documents of this war is a letter that Miss West sent to the R.A.F. when she heard that her name had been attached to a life-saving jacket. The last two paragraphs especially show Miss West's delight in becoming an integral part of the English language.

If I do get in the dictionary—where you say you want to put me—how will they describe me? As a warm clinging life-saving garment worn by aviators? Or an aviator's jacket that supplies the woman's touch while the boys are flying around nights?

I've been in *Who's Who* and I know what's what, but it'll be the first time I ever made the Dictionary.

If the term survives, this letter will have a unique lexicographical interest, as I can think of no other example where we have the record of

a person's opinion after his name had become attached to an object or process. Mae West has also provided the army with a new term. To quote from Colonel Colby's recent book *Army Talk* published by the Princeton University Press, 'it is applied to a tank with two turrets protruding above the main superstructure.'

These are perhaps the two best known war terms derived from personal names, though there are others, mostly of a technical nature, for instance, to *degauss* a ship.

War words from names of places are fewer. *Dunkirk* and *Coventry* have to a slight extent been used as common nouns. I have heard 'to do a Dunkirk' and have seen the verb *coventrize* and the noun *coventrization* to denote the almost complete demolition of a town by bombing. But these I imagine are nonce-words and have less chance of survival.

Let us now turn to another source of new words common in all periods of our language—loan-words. The best known word of this type is perhaps *blitz*, the common abbreviation of *blitzkrieg*, used both as a noun and a verb. This is no longer merely a war term, but has a fairly wide currency as a colloquialism. There is an item on an up-to-date menu called 'a blitzed hamburger,' and my English paper has an advertisement for shaving-soap headed 'Blitzkrieg against Beards.'

An English mother reports hearing her child, when she grew tired of a game, exclaim: 'Oh! let's *blitz* this game!' Youthful American speakers are described as saying 'Let's *blitz* the ice-box' (raid the refrigerator). If such a use of this term, detached from its specifically military connotation, becomes widespread among the very young, its chances of survival after the war are good. Some other common German borrowings are *Luftwaffe*, *Panzer* (though the latter may go back to World War I), and the interesting coinage *flak*, a very common term in England, especially among air-men. This is an abbreviated form of the German *Flugzeugabwehrkanone*. It is also called *A A* or *ack-ack* fire. This fusion of initials to form new words is also found in terms derived from English, as we shall see later. The term *Gestapo* is built up in a similar way from the initials of a German compound, *Geheimstaatspolizei*.

France was in the war too short a time to provide many war words. I have seen the term *Maginot-minded* to indicate a purely defensive attitude. The word *maquis*, to denote a group of soldiers working as an underground force, is another example of a word derived from a geographical term. One curious development of an older French military term is reported to me from the R.C.A.F. The term *liaison* is a continual source of trouble to the inexperienced in words. There is a tendency to make its pattern conform to the numerous English words ending in *-sion*, such

as *division*, and call it *liayshon*. Apparently this has received semi-official recognition and a verb to *liayshe* has been built from it, so that one can hear phrases such as 'he is *liayshing* between Washington and Ottawa' or 'he does a lot of *liayshing*.'

Turning now to coinages from English speech-material, we find a number of interesting blends or portmanteau words. A new weapon has been introduced into commando warfare called a *smatchet*. It is a powerful knife, which, if applied by a well-trained commando fighter to the proper parts of an opponent's body, may cause considerable disorganization. I have not seen any official explanation of its origin, but it may possibly be a blend of *smash* and *hatchet*, or the Spanish machete may have something to do with it. There is an anglicized form of this Spanish word, *matchet*. A picture of a smatchet can be seen in Major Fairbairn's book *Get Tough*. Other obvious blends are *paratroops*, *parashots*, and the latest one I have encountered, *blacketeer*, a person who operates on the *black market*.

Other results of shortening of words are seen in the terms built up from the initials of words of English origin, e.g., the *Wrens*, the *Cwacs*, the *Waves*, etc. One theory as to the origin of the much-discussed *Jeep*, is that it was developed from *G.P.*, standing for *General Production* or *General Purpose* car. A more elaborate blending of initials is seen in the American *snafu*, 'situation normal, all fouled up.'

One group of war-words consists of revivals of terms used in earlier wars; *commando* and *concentration camp* go back to the Boer War; *fifth column* originated during the Spanish Civil War; *corvette* is older still; *clipperplane* takes us back to the days of sailing ships.

As a result of the war a large number of words and phrases from English speech-material have emerged which deal with the wider aspects of life in war-time. I can only just mention such terms as *lend-lease*, *black market*, *price ceiling*, *priorities*, *selectee*, *war of nerves* as examples. The impact of the war on domestic life is seen in such a term as *bundlebuggy*. It would take us too far afield to deal with these.

Finally a word about military slang and colloquialisms. As is to be expected from an activity in which mainly young people are engaged and in which novel and exciting experiences are frequent, the way is paved for the type of linguistic enterprise that leads to slang creations. Each of the services has its own slang, and I have no doubt that Mr. Partridge and other scholars are busy collecting examples. The usual well-known processes by which slang is coined can be easily seen in the new terminology. There are the lively metaphors, e.g., the Air Force use of *eggs* for bombs and *fish* for a torpedo bomb, the latter taken over from

the naval name for a torpedo. A non-flying airman is called a *penguin*. There are the humorous understatements; an aeroplane is a *kite* or a *cab*, a depth bomb is an *ash can*. There are mysterious terms that seem to spring up overnight and whose origin may never be traced. Thus, for instance, to *prang*, meaning to smash an aeroplane, or to bomb a target. It may be onomatopoeic or perhaps a blend of *crash* and *bang* and a third word beginning with *p*. The current Air Force colloquialism for being fed up is *browned off* or sometimes *brassed off*, another difficult term to explain. An inefficient airman is a *prune*. A *gubbins* is used to describe almost any part of the equipment of a plane, with about the same meaning as *gadget*; while *gremlins* are mythical creatures who are supposed to cause trouble such as engine failure in aeroplanes, a curious piece of whimsy-whamsy in an activity so severely practical as flying. Now the *gremlin* seems to be extending its sphere of operations, so that the term can be applied to almost anything that inexplicably goes wrong in human affairs. An article on *gremlins* appeared in *Punch* on November 11, 1942.

The naval terms are even more strange. A few specimens are *tanky*, a butcher, *diffy*, a sick bay attendant, *buffer*, the chief bosun's mate, and one that does seem slightly intelligible, *springer*, a physical instructor.

Even a brief and necessarily inadequate survey of this large subject shows how language is able to adapt itself, almost like an organism, to new needs in a rapid and efficient manner. It does so by processes that have frequently operated in the past, so that a study of recent developments in vocabulary may be a useful starting-point for historical parallels. Linguistics, which finds its material in all we hear and read, need never become a dull routine study. It can always be vitalized with the breath of reality.

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION*

Herald Tribune Forum, New York City, October, 1944.

Thomas E. Dewey (Governor of the State of New York; former district attorney; born in Owosso, Michigan): its ə 'greɪt 'pleɪʒə tə pəʊ'tɪs'pɛɪt in 'ðɪs 'ʔænjuəl ɪks'teɪndz əv ə'pɪnjən| ə'baut ðɪ 'ædʒənt 'prɒbləmz əv 'aʊə 'tɑɪm|| 'sɜːtənli ðə 'moustr 'ædʒənt 'prɒbləm wi 'feɪs in ðə 'wɜːrld| ɪz ðə prə'ventʃən əv 'fjuːtʃə 'wɔːz|| 'wiə ə'grɪd ɒn 'wʌn 'θɪŋ|| wi 'mʌst 'nʌt 'hæv 'eɪ 'θɜːd 'wɜːld 'wɔː|| in 'sɪmpl 'tɜːmz| 'ðæt 'mɪnz| wi mʌst prɪ'vent eɪ 'fjuːtʃə 'wɔː bɪ'foʊ ɪt 'hæpnz|| ɪf 'ɛnɪ 'daʊts rɪ'meɪnd 'æftə 'pɜːl 'hɑːrbə| ðeɪ hæv bɪn 'ɛndɪd bʌɪ ðə 'lʌst 'dɛspəʊt 'ʔækt əv ðə 'nʌtsɪz| in 'lɒntɪŋ 'hɪtləz| 'blaɪnd 'wepən ʌv rɪ'vendʒ| ðə 'roubət 'bɒm|| 'ðɪs ɪz 'fjuːtəl| 'sævɪdʒəri| bət ɪt 'sɜːvz tə 'wɔːn əs ə'ʒenst ðə 'fjuːtʃə|| ə 'fju 'dʒæpənɪz 'pleɪnz| 'lɒntʃt frʌm ə 'fju 'ɛəkræft 'kɛərɪəz ɒn dɪ'sembə 'sevn 'nʌm'tɪn 'fɔːtɪ 'wʌn| 'strʌk 'ʔʌs ə 'dɛvəsteɪtɪŋ 'blou æt 'pɜːl 'hɑːrbə|| ɪf 'wi 'feɪl tu 'meɪk sɪ'kjʊə ðə 'pɪs ʌv ðə 'wɜːld| ðə 'nekst 'wɔː wɪl 'nʌt bɪ'gɪn| bʌɪ ə sə'praɪz ə'tæk ɒn ən 'aʊ'tlaɪŋ 'beɪs|| ɪt 'wɪl bɪ'gɪn| mɛn 'roubət 'bɒmz 'lɒntʃt 'θaʊzəndz əv 'maɪlz ə'weɪ| 'sʌdənli 'reɪn 'dɛθ ænd dɪ'strʌkʃn ɒn ʌvə 'meɪdʒə 'sɪtɪz|| 'ɪvən bə'foʊ 'ðɪs 'wɔː ðɪ 'ɛəpleɪn hæd rɪ'dʌst ðə 'saɪz əv ðɪ 'tʃ|| ðə 'roubət 'bɒm hæz 'meɪd 'ðɪs 'wɜːld əv 'aʊəz| 'stɪl 'smɔːlə|| ɪts 'pʊt ʌs 'ʌndə ðə 'gʌnz əv 'ɛnɪ ə'ʒresə 'neɪfɪn ðæt meɪ 'raɪz tə 'paʊə| 'ʔɛnɪ'mɛə in ðə 'wɜːld|| ɪf ðɛə 'ʃʊd 'ɛvə 'bɪ ə 'θɜːd| 'wɜːld 'wɔː| ə'mɛəəkə wʊd bɪ in ðə 'frʌnt 'laɪnz əv 'ðæt 'wɔː| in ðə 'vɛəri 'fɜːst 'ʔaʊə|| 'ðæts 'nʌt ən 'ædʒʊmənt|| 'ðæts ə 'fækt||

'evrɪ ə'mɛəəkən mʌst 'lɜːn ðɪ ɪnəs'keɪpəbəl kən'klʊɡn| wi mʌst 'nevə fə'get ɪt| wi mʌst 'nevə ə'ʒen| 'rʌn ðə 'rɪsk ʌv pə'mɪtɪŋ 'wɔː tu 'breɪk 'lus| 'ɪn 'ðɪs 'wɜːld|| tə'ʒeðə wɪð 'ɪz ðə 'frɪdəm 'lʌvɪŋ 'pɪpl| wɪv hæd ə 'vɛəri 'neəʊv| rɪ'skeɪp|| wi 'dɛə 'nʌt 'teɪk ə'nʌðə 'tʃʌns|| 'ðɪs 'wɔː| 'mʌst 'bɪ| ðə 'læst 'wɔː|| . . .

Clare Boothe Luce (re-elected Congressional Representative in Congress from Connecticut; playwright, editor, author; born in New York City): . . . nāʊ 'hɪs ðə 'past 'ʔɒfəz 'væljuəbl 'testəməni| fɔə mət'evər ɪts 'wəθ tu 'ðəʊz hu kæn ɪn'tɜːprət ɪt kə'rektli|| ðə 'mɛɪn ɪnkəm'plɪʃn əv də'tɛ:ɪəl ɪn ðɪ ju'nāɪtəd 'neɪʃnz| 'greɪt də'zʌɪn ɪz ðə 'vɛəri 'dɪteɪl ðæt prə'ventəd 'henrɪ ðə 'foʊθs| ə'rɪdʒənəl frəm biɪŋ 'traɪd 'aʊt ə 'tɔːl|| 'ðæts ðə 'dɪ'teɪl kən'sɜːnɪŋ ðɪ 'ʔʌltəmət kən'tro:ʊl| ʔʌv ðɪ ɪntə'næʃənəl pə'lis 'fɔəs| tu bɪ 'pʊt ət ðə dɪspə'zɪʃn| ʔʌv ðɪ 'ɔɡənə'zeɪʃən|| fɔr ɪn 'rouzəvɛlts ən 'tʃɛtʃɪlɪz ən 'stʌlɪnz 'deɪ| 'dʒʌst əz ɪn 'henrɪ ðə 'foʊθs| ðɪ ɪntə'næʃənəl pə'lis 'fɔəs| ɪz 'pleɪnli 'rɛkɪɡnaɪzd ʔæz ðə 'tɪθ| ɪn ðə

* This transcription was made from a phonographic recording of part of a radio broadcast.

'plæn| ænd in 'auə 'taim| æz 'θri 'hændrəd ən 'sɪkstri 'jɪəz ə'gou| ðə 'greɪt "ʔānā"səd 'kwɛstʃən ə'baut 'ðouz 'tiθ 'ɪz| 'hu 'puts ðə 'bairt ʔən 'hum||

'sevrəl 'deɪɪz ə'gou 'lɑndə'sekrətəri əv 'stɛɪt stətɪnɪəs 'kɔld ɔn ði ə'merɪkən 'pʌblɪk tu 'pāndə 'ðæt 'kwɛstʃən| in 'ɔdə tu 'heɪsn ðə rɪələ'zeɪʃn| ʌv ə 'truɪrɪ 'fɛktɪv 'wɔld 'ɔɡənə'zeɪʃn|| 'nou 'daʊt in 'greɪt 'pʌblɪk də'beɪt in 'ðɪs 'fri də'makrəsi| wɪ 'wɪl 'faɪnd ə 'fer ən 'wɜkəbl 'ā'sə| mɛə ðə 'mɛn əv 'hɛnrɪ ðə 'fəʊθs 'taɪm 'feɪld|| ət mʌst bɪ ən 'ā'sə 'ðæt əl bɪ ɪk'septəd nʊt 'ounli bair 'saviət 'rʌʃə ən 'greɪt 'brɪtən ən 'tʃaɪnə| bət ɪt mʌst bɪ ɪk'septəbəl 'tu| 'ɔl ðə 'lɪtəl pɑ'tusəpeɪtɪŋ 'neɪʃnz| ʌv 'jʊrəp ən 'eɪʃl||

bət 'waɪ dɪd ðə 'pɪs 'plænz 'ðæt wə 'traɪd 'aʊt in ðə 'past 'feɪrəl|| ði 'ā'sər ɪz 'rɛlətɪvli 'sɪmpl|| ðeɪ 'feɪld bɪkəz 'ðeɪ wə 'tɛknɪkl mə'ʃɪnəri æn 'nʌθɪŋ 'mɔə|| 'ðɛn 'wʌt 'mɔə 'ðən 'ɡud mə'ʃɪn:ri ɪz 'nɪdəd|| 'wɪnstən 'tʃɛtʃhɪl 'ɡɛrv 'pʌt əv 'ðɪ 'ā'sər in ə 'tɛləɡræm| hɪ 'rɪsɛntli 'sɛnt tu eɪ 'greɪt 'lɪɡ əv 'neɪʃnz 'stɛrtsmən| 'vaɪkaʊnt 'sɛsl əv 'tʃɛtwəd| ɔn 'ðɪ ə'kɛɪɪzn əv 'sɛslz 'pɛɪtɪθ 'bɛθdɛr|| 'tʃɛtʃhɪl 'waɪəd| aɪ 'kwɔʊt| ðə 'wɔ: kʊd 'ɪzəlɪ hæv bɪn prə'ventəd| ɪf ðə 'lɪɡ əv 'neɪʃnz hæd 'jʊzd 'kʌrɪdʒ| 'ænd hæd 'ðeə bɪn 'lɪəltɪ tu ə'sʊsɪeɪtəd 'neɪʃnz||

'hɪstrɪ hæz 'dʒʌstəfaɪd 'mɪstə 'tʃɛtʃhɪlz 'vɛdɪkt|| ðə 'lɪɡz mə'ʃɪnri 'nevə rə'sɪvd ðə 'ful ənd 'kɑ'stənt sə'pɔət əv ðə 'greɪt 'pauəz 'plɛdʒd tu ət||

"ɔl ðə 'past ɡɪvz 'wɪtnəs tu 'ðɪs 'greɪt 'lɛsn fɔ ðə 'fjuʃtʃə|| ə mə'ʃɪnri fɔ 'pɪs| wɪl bɪ 'nou 'bɛtə 'ðən ðə 'wɪlɪŋnəs əv 'ɡʌvən'mɛnts ənd 'pɪplz tu sə'pɔət ɪt| wɪð 'kʌrɪdʒ ənd tu 'jʊz ɪt wɪð 'kʌnstənt 'vɪʒən|| . . .

Helen Gahagan Douglas (newly elected Representative in Congress from California; former opera singer and actress; born in Boonton, N.J.): . . . bat 'ðer 'ɪz 'sʌmθɪŋ 'ðæt 'ɪz 'ɪndə'spɛnsəbəl| ənd 'ðæt ɪz ə 'sɜtn 'pɔɪnt əv 'vju:| ə 'weɪ əv 'θɪŋkɪŋ|| 'ðæt ɪz 'ðɪ 'ɪndə'spensəbəl frɪ'lasəfi| 'ðə frɪ'lasəfi 'ðæt 'hɔ:vɪldz 'ðæt 'ðɪs 'wɜrld ɪz 'wʌ:n| 'ænd 'ðət 'pauə sə'kjuərɪ| ɪz aɪ'dɛntɪkl| wɪð 'ðə sɪ'kjuərɪ əv 'auə 'neɪbəz in 'ɪŋɡlənd| 'rʌʃə 'tʃaɪnə| ənd 'ðə 'rɛst| 'ʌv 'ðɪs 'ræpədli 'frɪŋkɪŋ 'wɜrld| æn 'ðæt wɪ 'nevə ə'ɡen| kæn 'stænd 'ʔaɪsələɪtəd ə'loun| in 'ðə 'wɜrld||

'fræŋklən 'rouzəvelt hæz 'lɔŋ ʌndə'stʊd 'ðɪ ɪm'pɔrtəns əv 'ðɪs frɪ'lasəfi|| hɪ 'fɔt fɔr ɪt wɪð 'ɔl 'ðə 'streŋkθ əv hɪz mæg'nɪfəsənt 'hæʊt|| 'ðæt 'wi 'daʊnt 'stænd ə'loun in 'ðə 'wɜəld tu'nairt| 'hɛmd in bair 'auə 'ʔɛnəmɪz| ɪz 'dʒu tu 'hɪz 'vɪɡn||

in 'nāɪntɪn 'θɛɪ 'θri| in hɪz 'fɜst rɪ'ɔŋɡjərəl ə'dres hɪ prɔ'klɛɪmd 'ðə 'beɪsɪs| ʌv 'ðɪs frɪ'lasəfi mɛn hɪ 'sɛd| 'ɔaɪ wʊd 'dɛdəkɛɪt 'ðɪs 'neɪʃən| tu 'ðə 'pələsɪ əv 'ðə 'ɡud 'neɪbə||

ənd 'mʌt hæz 'ðæt 'mɛnt tu 'ʌs|| ɪt 'mɛnt 'ðət 'ɔftə 'pɜl 'həbə| 'ðə 'nɛɪʃənz tu 'ðə 'saʊθ əv əs spā'n'tɛɪnɪəsli ən 'ɔlmoust ju'nænəməsli ə'lairnd

ðəm'selvz 'baɪ 'auə 'saɪd ə'geɪnst 'ɑː 'enəməɪz|| ðə 'fækt ðæt ðə 'wɔːɪə
 'hæznt bɪn 'kæɪd tu 'ʔauə 'fɔːz| ðæt 'wi hævnt 'dʌg| 'ʔauə 'jʌŋ| frəm
 'ʔaʊt əv ðə 'rʌbəl əv 'ʔauə 'bɑːmz| ɪz 'dʒu ɪn 'nou 'smɔl də'gri tu ðə
 'gʊd 'neɪbə 'pələsɪ||

mən 'brɪtən wəz 'faɪtɪŋ wɪð hə 'bæk tə ðə 'wɔːl| mən 'mɪlətəri 'ekspəts
 wə pə'dɪktɪŋ ði 'ɪmənənt kə'læps əv 'rʌʃə| mən 'dʒæpənɪz 'hʊədʒ wə
 'swɒmɪŋ ʊvə 'tʃaɪnə| 'rouzəvelts fr'lasəfɪ| wəz 'kæɪd ɪntu 'æksfən| baɪ
 'lændɪŋ mə'tɪəriəl tu əv 'frendz| ænd 'ðɪs 'keɪpt ðəm| 'ʔauə 'prezənt 'ʔələɪz
 ɪn ðə 'wɔːɪə sou ðæt ə'mæʊəkə tu'nait ɪz 'nɒt 'faɪtɪŋ ə'loun æn 'frendləs|| . . .

This transcription was prepared with the assistance of the following students in Phonetics In Teachers College, Columbia University: Gloria Brener, Ellen Caughran, Blanche Davis, Vivian Lawrence, and Harriet Levine.

EDITORIALS AND REVIEWS

THE 'AMERICAN DIALECT DICTIONARY'

DR. HAROLD WENTWORTH, editor of the *American Dialect Dictionary*,¹ is a native of Cortland, New York. He holds three degrees from Cornell University. He has taught English at Cornell University and the University of West Virginia. He was an associate on the *Linguistic Atlas* and an assistant editor of Webster's *New International Dictionary*, second edition.

The purpose and scope of the work are indicated in the following extracts from the Preface:

This Dictionary is primarily concerned with variations—vocalic, phrasal, semantic, phonological, and morphological—in the English language as spoken and written by natives of North America, and especially with those variations that are due to, or coincident with, geographical location. In other words, this book deals mainly with dialect in the sense of localisms, regionalisms, and provincialisms; folk speech, urban as well as rustic; New England and Southern United States dialects viewed in their deviations from General Northern, or Western, American English, typified by the dialect of central New York State (Cortland), native to the editor; speech of the Appalachians, typified by the Monongahela River valley, in which he has lived nine years; conventional and traditional dialect; locutions and usages having a dialectal flavor or association; those on the fringe of colloquiality; old-fashioned, archaic, and poetic turns of expression, particularly when known to be still current in certain localities; and to some extent, the sometimes inseparable class and cultural dialects.

This Dictionary does *not* deal, however, with the following classes of words: slang; occupational terms; technical and scientific (botanical, zoölogical, geological) terms, excepting certain popular names; nor with broken English, as used by many whose native language is other than English, such as American Indians as represented in literature; impeded or mutilated speech or that of very young children; mere misspellings, downright malapropisms;—except occasionally as they may exhibit dialectal traits or illustrate linguistic processes bearing significantly upon dialect.

The dictionary contains over 15,000 terms and some 60,000 accompanying quotations. (The *English Dialect Dictionary* contains over 100,000 terms; proper names are not given.) Neither Dr. Wentworth nor any other educated person would contend that this dictionary encompasses all the oral and written dialect in America. I suspect that no one has ever attempted to gather all the available dialect in a small community. We can get some notion of what such a thorough job of collecting might do for dialect when we consider one instance of intensive collecting of folklore (a close relative of dialect) within a small area. Dr. Harry Middle-

1. *American Dialect Dictionary*. By Harold Wentworth. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1944. xv, 747 pp.

ton Hart found and published over 10,000 folklore items within ten square miles in Adams County, Illinois.²

Dr. Wentworth's work is based mainly on material that has already appeared in print in numerous places: dictionaries and other glossarial works, journals, novels, stories, plays. Some of the material comes from unpublished sources—manuscripts, word-slips, and the radio. About twenty-five per cent of the material comes from *Dialect Notes*, and fifteen per cent from *American Speech*. At the back of the dictionary appears a bibliography of American printed sources quoted in the body of the book. Since some British sources contain American dialect and since Dr. Wentworth quotes some of these sources, he might well have included them—the *English Dialect Dictionary* and the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Also omitted from this list are the *Dictionary of American English* and the *Linguistic Atlas* (the former is cited).

Although most of the dialect listed comes from the United States, some comes from Canada, Newfoundland, Labrador, and Bermuda.

There is a wealth of variant forms of the same word: *fice, feist, fyst, fyste, fyce, fist, fiste, fiest, fise, feest, faust, faus', fife; just, jest, jes', jist, jis', dist, dis', thest, thes, thist, this', 'ist, 'is', chust, jost; pancake, flapjack, slapjack, flitter, hotcake, buckwheat cake, griddle cake, flannen cake, flannel cake, jumpover, fluttercake, splatteredad, flippum-jack, battercake, stack cake, bread gandy, leatherbread; woman, 'oman, ooman, womern, dummern, ummern, woming.*

A single expression is often shown to have many different uses or meanings. *And* is listed eight times thus, *as* five times, *bat* five times, *diddle* six times, *spud* seven times, *stob* ten times, and *woods colt* three times. A word sometimes serves as a nucleus for many phrases different in form and meaning. *All* produces thirty-six phrases, *cut* twenty-three.

One purpose of a dialect dictionary is to tell where dialect is found. It is surprising to discover that certain words are found in some sections or in so many sections: *fixin' to, haslet, jouk, staving, tote, traipse, wait on, went and* plus past tense of another verb, 'dropped *g'* in *-ing, terrible* ['tɜ(ə)bl].

It was a pleasant and revealing surprise to find *he-huckleberry*, 'a huckleberry twice ordinary size.' When a child I had heard other children apply *he* to any berry to mean 'large' (cf. British dialect *he-brimble*). Until I saw *he-huckleberry*, I had thought that *he* in such compounds was merely a local coinage.

2. *Folk-Lore from Adams County, Illinois*. New York: Alma Eagan Hyatt Foundation, 1935.

Some rare words have interesting and unusual meanings: *andromartens*, 'pranks'; *barber*, 'vapor rising from water on a frosty day'; *bogue*, 'a creek'; *boneen*, 'a young pig'; *brass ankle*, 'a person who passes for white, but who is suspected of having Negro blood' (cf. *dipped*); *bunkum*, 'good, excellent'; *dagon*, 'built to be pulled by one animal (?), a single ox yoked to a cart'; *frore*, 'frozen'; *gallus*, 'impish, excellent'; *spouse*, 'a child'; *squib*, 'a young squirrel'; *taz*, 'a whip or scourge'; *tetnit*, 'a child born of elderly parents'; *tickler*, 'a knife, pistol, or other small weapon'; *tillicum*, 'a friend'; *tortience*, 'the youngest child of a family'; *vowny*, 'to swear, vow'; *weedmonkey*, 'a loose woman or prostitute'; *wudget*, 'a little bunch.' A few expressions appear to be recent coinages: *gratificated*, *wool-hat boys*, *worry-wart*.

As would be expected in folk-speech, a large number of derogatory terms appear. The *English Dialect Dictionary* sets a pattern here. This great work, for example, gives 1,050 words meaning 'slattern,' 1,300 meaning 'fool,' and 1,350 meaning 'to thresh' a person.

Many of the special entries in Dr. Wentworth's book contain helpful discussions and illustrative material: Adjectives for Adverbs, Excrescent Sounds, Eye Dialect, Folk Etymology, Metathesis, Plural for Singular, Plurals, Redundancy, Stretch Forms, Word Order. Valuable information also occurs under such entries as: *a-* (prefix), *a-* (used superfluously), *-some*, *-y*.

Some readers will perhaps wish that Dr. Wentworth had given the origin of other words, as he did for *dipped*, *doreen*, *drat*, *galak*, *glob*, *habbage*, and *happenstance*. When he is uncertain as to the origin of a word, he employs a question mark or writes 'perhaps from . . .': *fong*, *foofooraw*, *gammet*, *ginch*, *sedlins*. When he is uncertain as to the meaning, he employs a question mark: *drinling*, *foxglow*, *mese*, *tarryhoot*.

Most illustrative quoted matter is dated, whether from printed (date of publication) or oral sources. This dating is desirable. But the casual reader should be awake to the fact that a date attached to a word does not indicate the first use of the word, especially of a word quoted from a printed source. Oral use of a dialect expression usually antedates a written use.

Cross-references aid the reader to find more quickly what he wants, or they point him to some place where he can find more information: *dorman*, 'See *Godfrey*!'; *scrapple*, 'See *ponhaus*'; *start-naked*, 'Cf. *buck*.'

A few minor charges can be brought against the glossary. Other readers, like this one, may wonder why such words as the following, which have the usual standard meanings, should be given in a dialect dictionary: *bumptious*, *kayak*, *lagniappe*, *maverick*, *praline*, *seine* (verb), *spat* (a quar-

rel), *strop* (a razor strop), *teacherage*. An occasional expression should, it would seem, be listed under a different word, the key word: *gast* should be under *dod(-gast)*, *every whipstitch* under *whipstitch*, (*every*).

An American dialect dictionary should contain authentic dialect that has been used or is being used in America. There are two kinds of dialect that should not go into such a dictionary: (1) authentic dialect that has never been used in America, and (2) false dialect. By the first type I mean dialect that has been (and may still be) used in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but not in America. Some years ago I attempted to read a novel that was so filled with this non-American dialect that I could not stomach finishing it. False dialect may consist of dialect words not used as a dialect speaker would use them, factitious dialect, or malapropisms. It is the sort of language too often seen in comic strips and heard on the radio and in the movie. It is usually concocted by writers who wish to draw a laugh but whose knowledge of dialect is exceedingly limited.

Unfortunately Dr. Wentworth allows too much of this false dialect to get into his book. Under *-all* are: 'But don't you-all give me away-all'; 'Will you-all listen-all to "Way Down Yonder in New Orleans" all?' One reviewer of the *American Dialect Dictionary* wrote: '. . . it would take more than Groucho Marx on the radio to prove to me that "you-all" is ever used in the singular in the South.' To this same group belong also *I-all*, *me-all*, *she-all*, and (I suspect) *marry up with*.

When a word is listed merely to show its non-standard pronunciation, it is permissible that no definition be given. However, some expressions about which there may be disagreement or uncertainty as to meaning are listed without being defined: *batter-bread*, *Heavens to Betsy*, *suet*.

There are other meanings—and sometimes better-known ones—than those given for some words: *hog rifle*, *hug-me-tight*, *iky*, *seed-hog*, *shoo-fly*, *warble*.

It is regrettable that Dr. Wentworth did not include more of the so-called 'indecent' words—not that I have a pornographic taste, for I grow weary of the dramatists and the novelists whose works reek with filth. Too many of our lexicographers have been verbally modest about these words. The 'great Cham' avoided 'naughty words' in his dictionary—so eighteenth-century ladies discovered. Even the *English Dialect Dictionary* is rather remiss in this respect. Our American dictionaries tend to omit such words or define them in a rather circuitous manner. Mr. Allen Walker Read has put the case very sensibly in one of his works:³

3. *Lexical Evidence from Folk Epigraphy in Western North America*. . . . Paris: Privately Printed, 1935. Quotations from pp. 5, 9, 23, 24.

Because certain words carry a deep social stigma, it does not follow that they should be ignored by the student of language. A sociologist does not refuse to study certain criminals on the ground that they are too perverted or too dastardly; surely a student of language is even less warranted in refusing to consider certain four-letter words because they are too 'nasty' or too 'dirty.' For the scientific linguist, the propriety or respectability of a word is merely one aspect of its history. . . . The determinant of obscenity lies not in words or things, but in the attitudes that people have towards these words and things. . . . These inscriptions [in Mr. Read's study] remind us that there is a firmly entrenched stratum in the English vocabulary which almost never gets into print, even in the larger dictionaries. [The] work [of the modern lexicographer] is complete only so far as his quotations have been collected from a wide range of reading. For words that live in oral speech rather than in print he has little material to go on. . . . Many of the words here have never before been recorded, and many others altogether inadequately illustrated and annotated. These words definitely are a part of the English vocabulary, no matter how puritans may deplore them or lexicographers ignore them.

Dr. Wentworth indicates pronunciation by the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association. Usually when a word has one or more pronunciations different from the accepted pronunciation, these are given. Many non-dialect words having dialect pronunciations are included. This is as it should be. Some proper nouns not pronounced in the 'standard' fashion are also listed: *Alec, Cabell, Carter, Columbus, Dana, Eliot, Kephart, Marthy (Martha), New Orleans, New York, Roosevelt, Washington.*

The pronunciations of a number of unfamiliar words are not shown but should have been given: *blowzy, catch, ferricadouzer, gow, hony, houms, juckit, maguey, mochalie, mollagausauger, palthagogue, penaidie, shats, sugée, susy, taiscown, taz, wanchancy.* However, I suspect that Dr. Wentworth, like many another dialect searcher, was unable to be sure about the pronunciation of some words (and the meanings of some words) and wisely thought that a portion of information about a word was better than no information—that is, than omitting the word altogether.

In passing judgment upon a book of the type under consideration, the critic must take account of at least two things: (1) the circumstances under which the book was written—the amount and the condition of the material available, the accessibility of the material, the time and the money at the editor's disposal, the assistance and co-operation of other scholars, the restrictions connected with publishing—and (2) the purpose or purposes of the editor in writing such a book. When we consider that one man practically singlehanded collected material covering nearly 750 pages, brought order and sense to this mass of matter—defining with commendable brevity and clarity, putting proper quotations with proper words, dating most quotations, signaling with hundreds of cross-refer-

ences, and performing a dozen other useful services—then we must say that the editor has produced a meritorious work.

The *American Dialect Dictionary* should prove useful to teachers, editors, writers, critics, librarians, and all other persons who wish to read with understanding our language in its entire extent, and who wish to speak and write it with breadth, variety, and ease.

GEORGE P. WILSON

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SOME AMERICAN PLACE-NAME PROBLEMS: A LETTER FROM PROFESSOR STEWART

The Editor, *American Speech*:

As often happens in the study of place-names, the two seemingly innocent questions raised by Mr. Ferguson in your issue of December, 1943 (pp. 309-310), are extraordinarily complicated and go deeply into the history and folk-ways of the American people. I have made no detailed study of either question, but having in the last three years indulged in a somewhat wide-spread study of place-names, I may be able to offer some suggestions.

'What are the limits, in time and geography, of the Virginian practice of omitting the word "County" in county names?' In the first place, I think that Mr. Ferguson must be wrong in his belief that the practise is wholly uncharacteristic of New England. Without investigating further, I remember Whittier's use of county names in his 'Massachusetts to Virginia.' There is also Paul Revere who spread the alarm

To every Middlesex village and farm.

If these are mere poetic licences, one should remember that a famous series of publications is that of the Essex Institute (not Essex County Institute). Moreover, the evidence of Map 3 in the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* seems to me to indicate that the specific names are still frequently used alone.

As for California usage, I imagine that the examples from literature which Mr. Ferguson quotes are from Bret Harte, perhaps from such a story as 'Brown of Calaveras.' I do not know just where Harte picked up that usage, possibly from reports of the Legislature in which a member from a certain county was mentioned as 'Brown, of Calaveras.' I do not remember that the usage is characteristic of other California writers, although it would doubtless be found in imitators of Harte.

The whole question, however, should be considered in its larger frame. The general practise in American place-naming is to have a double name, consisting of two words. The usage is quite close to the practise of the biological sciences, i.e., *Homo sapiens* is analogous to *Lake Erie*, the first word indicating, so to speak, the *genus* and the second the *species*. Usually the order of the words is reversed. By an effort toward economy (which seems to me rather characteristic of English) the generic may be omitted when it is obvious. It is usually obvious when it has already been established in the context, e.g., one may say 'Erie is smaller than Huron' when it has been already determined that we are talking about lakes.

With the names of states, the generic is commonly omitted, except in legal documents. It is, nevertheless, sometimes inserted in colloquial speech for greater clarity. For this reason it has become almost conventional with New York State and Washington State, which constantly have to be distinguished from the cities of the same names. I have introduced this matter of the states because the argument carries over by analogy to the counties.

As is well known, counties were extremely important in early Virginia, and towns were few and unimportant. The almost universal custom was to have the county-seat go by the name of the county, with the addition of the words Court House. But, as the name would indicate, the Court House was originally scarcely a town at all. Therefore, when a man said, 'I live in Spotsylvania,' he would mean Spotsylvania County. For such reasons that convention of speech could be easily established in Virginia and the other southern colonies. I should say, however, that it would differ only in degree, not in kind, from practise everywhere under the general principle of 'omission of the generic.'

In New England the county has always been of little importance in comparison with the town, and there would accordingly be fewer contexts in which the specific could be used alone. This would be especially true when the county bore the name of its chief town, as with Worcester. In such instances, there would be definite psychological resistance to saying 'I live in Worcester,' unless the town were meant. Even in Virginia I venture to state on these theoretical grounds that people who live in Richmond County regularly use both specific and generic, for the city of Richmond is not in Richmond County.

Throughout the country I think that the prevalence of the usage must be determined (1) by the importance of the county in the general scheme of things, and (2) by the degree to which confusion is possible, particularly because of the repetition of the specific as the name of a town, or even of a natural feature.

I feel certain that local usage in California is so determined. I myself live in Alameda County, and there is also in the county a town of that name. Therefore we can rarely omit the generic. The next county to the east and north is Contra Costa County. There is no town so named, and I have frequently heard such a sentence as: 'He lives across the line in Contra Costa.' Similarly, Marin is constantly used for Marin County, but San Mateo cannot be.

Mr. Ferguson's other question 'concerns local pronunciations of imported names.' I think he is right in stating, 'Californians make some effort to pronounce Spanish names according to the Spanish rules.' But, at the same time, these names in California can hardly be called 'imported.' The more important ones were placed before the Americans arrived. Moreover, there has been a continuous tradition of Spanish speech in California. When a Spanish name has been planted in a part of the state lacking that tradition, the pronunciation is likely to go American. An example is *Portóla*, so accented, although the gallant captain for whom it was presumably named was *Portolá*. Often also the pronunciation is only approximate. *Vallejo* preserves the Spanish accent on the second syllable, and puts an *h*-sound for the *j*, but I have never, to my best recollection, heard anyone give it the Spanish double-*l* sound in colloquial speech. Personally, I greatly prefer to have such names decently anglicized. As it is, there is enough pedantry loose in the world. A good example of what should not happen is the utter confusion over the pronunciation of *Los Angeles* which has developed from the prunes-and-prisms effort to dislodge the name from its decently anglicized form, and put it into some kind of half-way bastard Spanish.

This question on pronunciation of imported names raises also a larger problem. Mr. Ferguson uses the term 'standard usage.' Actually, no usage has much authority. Pronunciation of continental names seems to have come into English through the French, as is shown by our use of the form *Cologne*, rather than *Köln*. *Riga* appears in Mr. Ferguson's list, and the vowel sounds of its standard pronunciation are approximately French. But it would be quite possible that the Russians or Lithuanians (the political situation is delicate) pronounce it more after the fashion of *Monroe County, New York*.

Our Board on Geographic Names now approves the spelling of names according to the usage of the country in which they (for the moment) are located. This may have the effect of making many of our towns complete orphans, and of preserving here many otherwise obsolete forms. This has already happened with *St. Petersburg*. In such a case the local American pronunciation would seem to gain more authority.

The two questions raise problems which might well be discussed in several doctoral dissertations, and there is no point in my spinning out these comments any further.

As a final note, I might add that with foreign-language names other than Spanish, Californians are just the same as people in other states. Lodi and Sebastopol have been thoroughly anglicized.

GEORGE R. STEWART

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SOME NOTES ON H. L. MENCKEN'S 'WAR WORDS IN ENGLAND'

The Editor, *American Speech*:

I have just read H. L. Mencken's article, 'War Words in England,' in *American Speech* for February, 1944. It inspires a few comments which might interest you.

BAEDEKER. It may be slightly misleading to ascribe the term 'Baedeker raids' to Hitler's threats to raid such towns as Norwich and Canterbury. The raids were not merely threatened, they were made. I think it is a misstatement to say that these raids were in revenge for an English raid on Heidelberg. It is extremely doubtful that any German raids on England were made for revenge. At the time the Baedeker raids were being made, the spokesmen of the German government said repeatedly that the German Air Force would persist in destroying England's architectural treasures if the Royal Air Force did not cease its attacks on Germany. The German government represented the Baedeker raids as a form of blackmail, an attempt to persuade the British government to ground the bombing planes of the Royal Air Force. The British government's reply was that, as it was impossible to provide adequate defenses for all England, the defenses would continue to be concentrated around such objects of military importance as factories. The destruction of architectural treasures would be accepted as one of the sacrifices of war. Thus, the Germans, striking at Britain in what they hoped was a tender spot, were able to do so at less risk than if the targets had been military objectives.

BLACKOUT. 'Lights out during an air-raid alarm.' Mr. Mencken's definition is, unfortunately, too lenient. Britain must be blacked out every evening, not merely during an alert. Actually, although the lights are out during the blackout everywhere in the British Isles except southern Ireland, the blackout does not involve turning out lights. The normal outdoor lights are not turned on, day or night. And almost complete blackness is achieved by barriers (screens, shades, curtains, even semi-permanent brick walls) between indoor lights and the darkness outside.

Also, I should have thought the explanation for the word *blackout* (instead of 'lights-out' or 'black-in') would be found in the expression pilots use to describe the process of losing consciousness in a swiftly moving aeroplane. My guess would have been that the fliers created the verb 'to black out' because it describes their symptoms: their vision fails, the world becomes black, and, finally, they go out; that is, they are knocked out, lose consciousness.

BLITZ. As Mr. Mencken indicates, *blitz* is used in a variety of ways. However, in common usage, *blitz*, noun and verb, usually applies to an air raid. 'His house was blitzed last week.' In recognition of the weakening of the German Air Force, an air raid now is seldom called a blitz. The common term for German air operations against Britain in 1940-41 is 'the blitz.' For example, 'The invasion will be as great a test, in its way, as the blitz.' The most striking use I ever heard of *blitz* as an adjective was made, with no sign of self-consciousness or artificiality, by a tea-shop waitress who was telling me that a group of her customers at another table had lost their sight during air raids. She said, 'Those are the blitz-blind.'

BLOCK-BUSTER. 'An air bomb large enough to knock down a whole block of houses.' Many Americans who are accustomed to this word do not realize that the 'block' is not an American city block, but a large modern building. As the British say, 'A block of flats,' or 'A block of offices.'

Another common term in Britain's bomb vocabulary is 'H.E.' For example, 'They were not fire bombs. Jerry dropped a stick of H.E.'s.' The abbreviation 'H.E.' stands for 'high-explosive.'

GUSSIE. 'A barrage balloon.' This seems to be merely the name one ground crew had given to their balloon. In addition to the familiar affectionate names (largely feminine) which the troops give to their equipment, I have seen a British armored car named 'Stalin,' and another named 'Brooklyn.'

Although the term has not found its way into general usage, barrage balloons can be called 'Beer-Beer,' without danger of misunderstanding. *Beer* is the British Army's word for the letter *B*, used to insure clarity in messages, as *Ack* is the word for *A*. The BBC's variety program dedicated to the crews who work on the lonely ground defenses was entitled 'ACK-ACK, BEER-BEER,' meaning anti-aircraft (guns) and barrage balloons.

Incidentally, while Mr. Mencken's quotation, under **FLAK**, from the *News of the World*, says, 'Our airmen always use the Germans' word for anti-aircraft fire—flak,' I have met some fliers who, in their conversation, were careful to distinguish between the enemy's flak and our ack-ack. For

example, 'After flying through the flak Jerry was putting up, I had to face a few bursts of ack-ack from our batteries on my return.'

JITTERBUG. The ending, *-bug*, seems to have made an impression in Britain. Mr. Mencken indicates that *chatter-bug* was coined by Mr. Harold Nicolson after the introduction of *jitterbug*. Later still, for the purposes of a vast campaign against public spending, the government invented *squanderbug*, depicted in advertisements as a ubiquitous insect, perversely urging Britons of both sexes to spend money unnecessarily.

POOL. 'A reservoir of supplies.' A British government official, referring to Britain's reserve supply of gasoline, would speak of the petrol pool. But to British consumers, the word has a special shade of meaning. The word 'POOL,' printed on a strip of paper pasted on a gasoline pump, announces that the pump contains an unidentified brand of gasoline from the nation's pooled supplies, instead of the brand advertised on the pump. As there is no pleasure driving in Britain, this use of the word is not of much importance to the average British civilian.

ROTA. 'A tour of duty, as of a firewatcher.' Specifically, *rota* applies to tours of duty which are taken in turn by different persons. For example, it is usual to see, posted in the lobby or elevator of an apartment building, a card which reads: 'FIREWATCHING ROTA FOR THE WEEK. Monday, Mrs. Jones and Major Gordon. Tuesday, Mr. Brown and Mr. Blakely. Wednesday, etc.' We American correspondents in London had a *rota*, which we drew up for the purpose of giving everyone an opportunity to go on such operations as commando raids, where there was space for only one or two reporters each time. Our rotating schedule was typed and circulated to all correspondents' offices as a reminder. Then, probably incorrectly, the memorandum itself became the *rota*. 'Let me see, where did I put the *rota*?' .

Mr. Mencken's article stirred my memory so effectively that I can scarcely resist burdening you with additional associated thoughts which come spontaneously to mind.

For instance, it occurs to me that in Britain the playing of tennis and golf has been succeeded by the week-end pastime of working in one's 'allotment,' which is a kind of 'Victory Garden.' Another word frequently heard is *chink*. Chinks are slits of light which show through faulty blackout curtains. But a warden does not patrol the streets in search of slits or cracks or beams of light. He looks for chinks, and if he finds one he is likely to inform the guilty occupants of the house, 'You've got a chink,' or 'There's a chink in your house.' And one seldom draws the blackout curtains at dusk; one 'does' the blackout. 'Have you done the blackout yet?' 'Yes, I always do the blackout early.' Similarly, the siren rarely sounds

or blows; it goes. One might say, 'There is an alert on' or 'The sirens went fifteen minutes ago.' And, later, one could ask, 'Has the all-clear gone yet?'

Another British usage that intrigues me is 'all-in,' sometimes used when we would say, 'all-out.' 'This is an all-in war.'

It may be that 'all-in' is not a war word, but was in use before the war. There are others I think of which also may have been part of the language before the war. One is *ramp*, used as a British synonym for the American 'racket,' a fraudulent enterprise. As I recall, *ramp* is more likely to be found in a newspaper headline than in an ordinary conversation (the same is true of *Finn*, given by Mr. Mencken in quotations using it as an adjective): 'BIG FURNITURE RAMP EXPOSED.'

Another expression which, despite its martial sound, may not have originated in this war is 'The balloon is going up,' signifying that the real action is about to begin. For instance, toward the end of the present period of invasion alarms and feints, a correspondent in London might say to his colleague, 'You know, I have a feeling that it is going to start at last. I think the balloon is going up.'

Still another which may not be a word of this war is *do*, as a noun. A *do* is an event, probably military, and usually one involving action. 'He was at Dieppe for the big *do*.' I wonder whether we can place the responsibility for this on the ladies who invented 'hair-do'?

Shimozzle, I suppose, is slang. It is hard to define. Perhaps the quickest way of making it clear is to say that it can be used in the same sense as the American Southern word *mess*. Where a Southerner might say, '... and then two girls fainted and somebody upset the punch bowl. Well, right in the middle of the mess,' etc., an Englishman might say, '... upset the punch bowl. In the midst of the shimozzle,' etc. For no tangible reason that I can think of, I suspect this is a contribution of the Royal Air Force.

Of course, the Royal Air Force, and the other forces too, have a large vocabulary of their own. Mr. Mencken avoided this, naturally. Still, some of the words of the armed forces have become imbedded in the people's language. One of these is *flap*, often used by civilians to mean a confused tumult or a hectic scene, and often spoken with disapproval. For example, 'When I told them I had lost my ration book there was the devil of a flap,' or, 'Yes, I was a bit late in getting to the studio but there was no reason for the flap.' Both *flap* and *shimozzle* can be, and often are, used as substitutes for the noun 'fight.'

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AMONG THE NEW WORDS

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AMONG THE several outstanding events of 1944, the invasion of Europe and the Germans' first secret weapon are especially noteworthy. The first event has acquainted a large portion of the English-speaking world with two new terms: *D day*, which is discussed in the glossary; and *H hour*. Some readers may be surprised to learn that *H hour* is recorded in the 1934 NID (*Webster's*): 'Mil., U. S. The time at which a planned operation is to be begun;—used when the exact clock hour is kept secret till the latest moment. See ZERO HOUR.' Indeed *H hour* is found as early as the 1927 New Words Section of NID, though there the discussion is under *zero*. For some reason *H hour* was popularized much earlier than *D day*; the beginnings of this popularizing can be seen in a passage cited by C. Alphonso Smith in his *New Words Self-Defined* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1919, pp. 104-5): 1918 *Baltimore Star* 17 Sept. "'Zero hour" and "over the top" are expressions which have passed from the American Army after long popularity with the British. [¶] America's attack in the Lorraine sector has brought out typical American expressions. [¶] "Over the top" is now "the jump off" and "zero hour" has changed to "H hour."'

When, about ten days after D day, the first buzz bombs hurtled over the English Channel into southern England, the fearful amazement as to what the 'things' were was accompanied by equal puzzlement as to what the 'things' should be called. Now that the names *buzz bomb*, *flying bomb*, *robot*, *robot bomb*, *robomb*, and *V-1* seem pretty well established, it may be interesting and instructive to look at some of the first reactions. Only a few days after the first onslaught of the robot bombs, an AP dispatch in the *Birmingham Age-Herald* of 20 June 1944 stated:

Adolph Hitler's new 'secret weapon'—the pilotless plane or rocket bomb—already has more names than . . . Goering has medals, and others are being added daily. . .

'Buzz bomb' and 'winged comet' seem to be the catchiest names offered in Britain thus far, though London headline writers have contributed such descriptive titles as 'Bumble Bomb,' 'Flying Bomb' and 'Whirley.'

'Robot raider' is a favorite with some who like alliteration, while P-Plane also has attained some popularity.

German propaganda broadcasts have come up with some fetching names such as 'Hell Hound,' 'Hell Dog,' 'Dynamite Meteor,' and 'Kivik Rocket.' Just what the latter means is not clear.

According to *Newsweek* (26 June 1944 p. 24), 'Officially, the British called them pilotless planes.' 'The German public,' it added, 'continued to use the term *Wuwa*, short for *Wunderwaffe*, or wonder weapon.' Other

terms used were *doodle* (*Newsweek* 14 Aug. 1944 p. 35/1) and *doodlebug*, though the latter, in the words of *Time* (24 July 1944 p. 26/1), 'was frowned on as too flippant. Most Londoners called the bombs "those things."'

One of the remarks of the AP writer already quoted suggests an analysis of the names. Those who like alliteration, he wrote, use the terms *Robot raider* and *P-Plane*. To this group of alliteratives should be added, of course, *pilotless plane*, *bumble bomb*, and *buzz bomb*.

Evidently one of the most distinctive as well as most awe-inspiring characteristics of the bomb is its low humming sound. As one correspondent wrote, 'The planes have a distinctive rhythmic note, giving the effect of a pulsating, low throb.' Hence the onomatopoeic names *bumble bomb*, *buzz bomb*, possibly *Whirley*, though the latter sounds more like an attempt to laugh it off. *Rocket bomb*, *rocket plane*, and *winged comet* seem to have been suggested by the speed of the bomb. The shape of the buzz bomb likewise accounts for those terms containing the word *plane* or *airplane* (*Read. Dig.* Sept. 1944 p. 86/1).

Most influential on the imaginations of the name-givers, however, have been two facts: these things are destructive bombs and they are automatically piloted. From the first there was an impersonality, an inhumanity, an irresponsibility about the bombs that angered the British public. Whether or not any of the word coiners knew of the robots in Capek's play makes interesting speculation. At any rate, this aspect of the bomb is frequently expressed in the names *robot bomb*, *robot bomber* (*Time* 26 June 1944 p. 66/3), *robot raider*, *robot airplane*, and *robot plane*. The word *bomb*, as is to be expected, appears in several combinations: *buzz bomb*, *flying bomb*, *robot bomb*, and *flitter bomb* (*Ladies' Home Journal* Oct. 1944 p. 13/1).

Several other types of word formation are illustrated. Shortening appears in *fly-bomb* (from *flying bomb*), *doodle* (from *doodlebug*), and *P-Plane* (from *pilotless plane*). *Robot* (for *robot bomb*) illustrates ellipsis. It is perhaps worthy of comment that *robot* is never used unless one of the other terms, usually *robot bomb*, has been employed. This crop of names has produced only one blend, which is *robomb*. It seems possible that several of the terms reveal attempts not to appear over-awed. *Doodle* (*doodlebug*), *Whirley*, *Bob 'Ope*, and *Beeloo* may all exemplify this state of mind. *Beeloo* appears in a letter from Dorothy Black in England: 'Hitler's flying Beeloo's come whiffling over from time to time' (*Ladies' Home Journal* Sept. 1944 p. 13/2). As for *Bob 'Ope*: 'London cockneys called the robots "Bob 'Opes." Grown-ups . . . learned the derivation: "Bob down and 'ope for the best"' (*Newsweek* 7 Aug. 1944 p. 29).

Acknowledgement is made for citations used in the preceding section and in the glossary. Mr. Henry Alexander has provided three, including the earliest for *robomb*; Mr. Dwight L. Bolinger four; Mr. James B. McMillan one (the AP dispatch on names for the robot bomb quoted above); Miss Mamie J. Meredith six; and Mr. Peter Tamony three, including the earliest citations for *featherbed* and SHAEF.

The practice of sometimes giving references without the citation is limited to those sources readily available.

Although John Gunther's *D Day* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers) is dated 1944 in the *Cumulative Book Index* and in the Library of Congress file, the copy from which citations in the glossary have been drawn bears two copyright dates, 1943 and 1944. The earlier date, 1943, has been used.

SYMBOLS: The symbol + before a word or definition indicates an Americanism. A date immediately following a word or definition indicates the time of evidence shown in the DAE, or, if so stated, in another publication. Dates in brackets indicate the time, etc., of British usage. An asterisk after a word indicates that the word is illustrated in British usage before 1600.

AIRPARK, AIR PARK. See first two quotes.—1944 *Tuscaloosa News* 26 July p. 2/7 (AP) 'Airparks,' the ATS said, would be small landing fields in or near communities for the use of private flyers. Two runways, approximately 2,000 feet long and 300 to 500 feet wide, would be arranged in 'L,' 'T,' or 'X' form. *Birmingham News* 26 July p. 10/1 As the name suggests, the airparks would be attractively landscaped to add to the beauty of the community rather than detract from it. *Tuscaloosa News* 27 Aug. p. 3/2 Cities and towns should begin with an airpark and 'let it grow in keeping with community needs,' he said. *Time* 28 Aug. p. 62 (Adv.) . . . Your Cessna travel will be facilitated by air parks . . . which most wide-awake communities are already planning. *Tuscaloosa News* 1 Sept. p. 8/1 'To sell, service and maintain [450] airplanes at one airpark would require four salesmen, six dispatchers, six gas- and oil-service men, 23 mechanics and other employees . . . *Sat. Eve. Post* 7 Oct. p. 70/3 The CAA is beating the drum for 3000 new airports, most of them 'air parks,' for private fliers.

BUZZ-, BUZZ, FLYING BOMB. A robot bomb. (Also attrib.)—1944 *Birmingham*

News 17 June p. 1/1 (AP) RAF Spitfire pilots . . . were diving through terrific fire from their own ack-ack guns in bids to destroy these new German buzz-bombs. *Ibid.* 17 June p. 1/1 (AP) At least three persons were killed and others injured by one of the flying bombs . . . *Newsweek* 21 Aug. p. 31/3 Then the buzz bombs sped in again . . . *Lond. Spectator* 7 July p. 4/1. *Sat. Eve. Post* 30 Sept. p. 34/3 He dropped to the ground as the buzz bomb exploded fifty feet away . . . *Birmingham News* 5 Aug. p. 1/2 [Headline] Buzz Bomb Assaults on England Resumed. *Read. Dig.* Sept. p. 86/1 The robot airplane or flying bomb unleashed by Hitler against England is neither a mere 'new weapon' nor yet an irresistible weapon which will decide the war. *Tuscaloosa News* 10 July p. 1/8 (AP) The evacuation of women and children from London and various cities in southern England continued in orderly fashion today as the German flying bomb offensive went into its 26th day.

D-DAY, D DAY. (The capitalization of this term varies: *D-Day*, *D-day*, *D Day*.) See quot. 9 May 1944. (Also attrib.)—1. *General.* 1942 *Parry War Dictionary*. 1943 Gunther *D Day* p. 165 Al-

ready people are talking about when the next D Day is to be. 1944 *Time* 27 Mar. p. 68 (quoting Hanson W. Baldwin) '... inefficient leaders [must be replaced] with good leadership ... to build up a pride of outfit in ... the divisions that on the war's greatest D-day will hold the future in their hands.' Birmingham *News* 9 May p. 1/8 (AP) The term 'D-Day' ... is an army expression used to refer to, but not reveal, the time fixed for a military action such as an attack on a local front or the start of an invasion. *Life* 26 June p. 26.

2. *Specific*. 1918 Field Order No. 8, First Army, A. E. F. 7 Sept. The First Army will attack at H-Hour on D-Day with the object of forcing the evacuation of St. Mihiel salient (quoted 1944 *Time* 12 June p. 2). 1942 *Newsweek* 23 Nov. p. 27 And this weakening of the line in the east may bring about a major Russian offensive long in preparation abiding the eventful D-day. 1943 Gunther *D Day* p. 57 *Malta, Saturday*, July 10.—... it is D Day at last. 1944 *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 18 Mar. p. 13/2. *Newsweek* 22 May p. 22/1 But the atmosphere behind Allied lines was electric, for May 11 was D day ... Tuscaloosa *News* 22 June p. 1/7 (AP) Secretary Stimson reported today that army casualties through June 6 (which would include D-Day) totaled 178,677 ... *Sat. Eve. Post* 8 July p. 22/1 That would mean that McCook would be transferred from the D-day first team ...

3. *In combinations*. a. D(-day) minus one (1), etc. The day before *D Day*, etc.—1944 *Time* 12 June p. 85/3 On D-day minus one, a happy Wall Streeter cried ... 1943 Gunther *D Day* p. 114 'My God,' uttered Poole, 'I haven't seen bread since D Minus 1'

b. D-day plus one, D-day-plus-one, etc. The first day after *D Day*, etc.—1944 *Life* 19 June p. 34 By the afternoon of D-day plus one the battle of this beach-head was already the most desperate of the invasion. *Sat. Eve. Post* 30 Sept. p. 6/2 The time is D-day-plus-one off the beach of Provence.

DUCK. See quot. Oct. 30, 1943.—1943 *Time* 21 June p. 68 The soldiers' name

for this is the 'duck.' *Sat. Eve. Post*. 30 Oct. p. 7 Christened 'Ducks' by soldiers, these new vehicles are actually 2½-ton trucks, propeller-driven in-the water, with six-wheel drives which carry them at high speeds on land. Gunther *D Day* p. 73 We slid down the ladder and this time boarded a duck ... 1944 *Newsmap* 21 Feb. Vol. II 44 F. Duck—Amphibian truck (2½-ton) is popularly known as the 'Duck' ... Birmingham *News* 25 Apr. p. 1 Amphibious 'Ducks' ply between this Allied ship and shore ...

FEATHERBED, *adj.* [cf. DAE, *featherbed soldier*, a soldier who has a soft or easy time. {1837-}]. Pertaining to featherbedding. See also first 1943 quot.—1938 San Francisco *Examiner* 3 June p. 25/1 But he does feel that 'featherbed jobs'—he cites one involving wages at the rate of \$4.37 per hour, equal to \$10,920 a year for a 48-hour week—should be abolished. 1941 *Traffic World* 7 June p. 1435/2 It is to be made by men ... who are also the beneficiaries of many so-called 'featherbed' rules by reason of which they secure large payments for doing very little work and in many instances for doing no work at all. 1943 *Newsweek* 20 Sept. p. 74/3 Featherbed rules are, for the most part, the result of organized labor's attempts to protect itself against unemployment resulting from technological advancements. In the railroad industry they are directed, for instance, against reduced employment resulting from faster trains. 1943 *Read. Dig.* Mar. p. 26/2 The so-called 'featherbed' rules are written into labor contracts enforced by the National Railroad Adjustment Board. *Newsweek* 20 Sept. p. 72/3 Earlier McNear himself had issued a report contrasting the difference between the government's featherbed operation of T.P. & W. in 1943 and the road's non-featherbed operation under private management in 1941. 1944 *Britannica Book of the Year* FEATHERBED RULES. Union regulations to accomplish featherbedding.

FEATHERBEDDING, *n.* See 1944 quot.—1943 *Read. Dig.* Mar. p. 26/2 For the unions, featherbedding has become an established business procedure; it

makes more jobs for more members who pay more dues. *Ibid.* June p. 114/2 . . . arbitrary union rules limit workmen's output; 'featherbedding'—making work for more employees—is rampant [in ship-yards]. *Newsweek* 20 Sept. p. 72/2 And what was Eastman's record since he restored featherbedding on McNear's tiny T.P. & W? 1944 *Britannica Book of the Year* FEATHERBEDDING. The limiting of work or output in order to spread jobs and thus prevent unemployment.

FLYING BOMB. See BUZZ BOMB.

MOMENTARILY. For a moment [1654-66]. Momently, at any moment.—1944 *Musical America* 25 Mar. p. 7/4 An addition to the family . . . is expected momentarily. *Time* 22 May p. 66/2 Captain Robert Johnson . . . momentarily expected home on leave . . . Tuscaloosa *News* 6 July p. 1/6 (AP) . . . Mitchell . . . said two high speed drills were expected momentarily. *Birmingham News* 29 July p. 1/7 (AP) The message came as a great shock to the flier's parents, . . . who had been expecting word momentarily that their son . . . was on the way back to the United States. *Time* 9 Oct. p. 27/3 China's exhausted, tattered soldiers fingered their last handfuls of cartridges, momentarily expecting attack by enemy patrols.

OSCAR. 1. A small gold statuette awarded annually by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences for the best performance, production, direction, photography, and similar accomplishments of the year.—1936 *Time* 16 Mar. p. 56/2-3 Awkward moments occurred at last week's ceremony when neither Director Ford nor Screenwriter Nichols appeared to claim their prizes—small gold statuettes which Hollywood calls 'Oscars.' 1937 *Time* 15 Mar. p. 33/1 Oscars of 1937. 1940 *Newsweek* 11 Mar. p. 34/1 . . . the English Vivien Leigh won an Academy statuette—known as an 'Oscar'—for the best performance by an actress. 1944 *Ladies' Home Journal* Sep. p. 97/2 When Greer Garson was given the coveted gold Oscar for the ripe charm she loaned the cinematic Mrs. Miniver, a newspaper in London announced: 'English girl wins Holly-

wood award.'

2. *Fig.* A symbol of excellence.—1941 *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 2 June p. 25/3 That these trials . . . did not keep [movie-] producer Gabriel Pascal from turning out a polished and distinguished product is a transcendent Oscar in the onetime cavalryman's lap. 1944 *Ladies' Home Journal* Jan. p. 94 Stir in the drama, toss in the glamour, and you can produce [salad] 'bowls' at home that will rate you four stars if not an Oscar. *Woman's Day* June p. 53/1 If I had to select one performance out of all the excellent ones given, I suppose I would have to give the Oscar to Roman Bohnen . . .

ROBOMB. [Robot + Bomb]. A robot bomb.—1944 Toronto *Saturday Night* 22 July Germany's robombs another case of 'too little and too late.' *Time* 7 Aug. p. 26/1 But by now most Londoners were convinced that they were in for something infernally worse: a rocket-propelled robomb . . . Baltimore *Sun* 17 Aug. p. 3/4-5 [Headline] Robomb Lands in Street Scene . . . *Time* 21 Aug. p. 28.

ROBOT. 'Any automatic apparatus or device that performs functions ordinarily ascribed to human beings, or operates with what appears to be almost human intelligence; esp. such an apparatus that is started by means of radiant energy or sound waves.' 1934 (NID). *Specif.* A robot bomb. (Also attrib.)—1944 *Birmingham News* 17 June p. 2/5 While everyone is speculating about the robots, this much seems to be agreed—that they have high speed, a bright red light tail, spit flames from their exhaust, fly on a straight low course, and hum rhythmically like a motorboat. *Newsweek* 10 July p. 30/2 The robot attackers . . . now came in incendiary form . . . *Read. Dig.* Sept. p. 86/1 The German robot is no surprise to military men and engineers. *Sat. Eve. Post.* 30 Sept. p. 34/1 The metal casing of the robot was so light that there was no fragmentation worth mentioning.

ROBOT BOMB, PLANE. A self-propelled bomb, shaped like an airplane, with a wing spread of 16 feet and a small tail surface, operated by a jet propulsion engine and piloted through a

gyrocompass control box. Launched like a rocket from specially constructed installations, it has a speed of over 300 m. p. h. and a maximum range of 150 miles. When the fuel of the bomb burns out and it hits something, the one ton or more of explosive loaded in the iron tube which composes its main body is set off. (*Robot bomb* is used attrib.).—1944 *N. Y. Times* 25 June p. 4E/1-2 [Headline] Germans' Robot Bomb Is a Potential Menace. *Birmingham News* 17 June p. 1/1 (AP) Germany's new explosive robot planes . . . struck blindly in parts of Southern England . . . *Montgomery Advertiser* 2 July p. 1/7 (UP) Observers here who have dodged the robot bombs . . . are convinced now that a second type of bomb has been launched by the Germans. *Tuscaloosa News* 10 July p. 1/8 (AP) It was a noisy night as the Germans took advantage of overcast skies over Dover stait [*sic*] to sneak their robot planes through the defense wall. *Newsweek* 10 July p. 30/3 The preventive demolition cut down the effectiveness of the robot-bomb attack when it materialized . . . *Read. Dig.* Sept. p. 86/1 Lawrence Sperry made encouraging tests with a robot plane . . . in 1918.

SHAFF [ʃef]. See quotes. (Also attrib.)—1944 *San Francisco Call Bulletin* 14 June p. 1/7-8 SHAFF, June 14 (AP). Lincoln (Nebr.) *Evening Journal* 12 May (Ernie Pyle). The newest and most frequently heard [new term] is SHAFF . . . It is SHAFF that is planning and will direct the invasion. *Life* 12 June p. 100 SHAFF stands for Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force, is pronounced 'Shafe' and in practice is both a place and a command. *Birmingham News* 5 Aug. p. 1/7 (AP) She is secretary to a general in SHAFF headquarters . . . *Ibid.* 9 Aug. p. 1/6—SHAFF Report.

SORTIE. A dash or sally by a besieged garrison upon an investing force.

[1795]. See quotes., esp. 1944 *Britannica Book of the Year*.—1943 *Time* 17 May p. 27/1 In two days Allied bombers and fighters flew 3,700 sorties (a sortie is one mission by one plane). *Tuscaloosa News* 10 Sept. p. 1/7 (AP) More than 1,000 sorties—individual plane flights—were flown by Flying Fortresses, Liberators, Marauders and Thunderbolts . . . *Gunther D Day* p. 88 There were one hundred and eighty Nazi sorties yesterday and they did some damage. 1944 *Tuscaloosa News* 26 Mar. p. 2/2 (AP) In those 60 hours nearly 7,000 sorties (individual flights) have been flown against Germany from the west . . . *Britannica Book of the Year* SORTIE. An operational flight by one military aircraft. Each return to base for replenishment is counted as the end of one sortie.

V-1. A robot bomb. See first quot.—1944 *Newsweek* 10 July p. 30/1 The Germans officially call the robots V-1—*Vergeltungswaffe, Ein*, or Vengeance Weapon 1. *Tuscaloosa News* 11 July p. 4/5 (AP) . . . Hitler is known to have other vengeance weapons than the V-1. *Life* 24 July p. 20. *Time* 7 Aug. p. 26/1 The worst that one V-1 flying bomb could do was done in London last week. *Lond. Spectator* 18 Aug. p. 144/1.

WAR TIME. See quot. 1942 *Time*.—1942 *Topeka Capitol* 6 Feb. p. 9 Crown Drug Store . . . will operate on WAR TIME (Daylight Saving). *Time* 9 Feb. p. 12/3 Franklin Roosevelt decided what he will call wartime daylight saving when it starts next week. Official name: War Time. 1944 *Birmingham News* 18 July p. 1/8 (AP) One medium-sized cargo vessel being loaded went up with a thundering roar at 10:19 p. m., Pacific War Time. *Tuscaloosa News* 19 July p. 1/4 (AP) U. S. government monitors said that Domei . . . had instructed the Japanese press to 'be certain to receive' the important news at 9:30 a. m., Eastern War Time, today.

MISCELLANY

LOUISE POUND

University of Nebraska

'GAZELLEBURGERS' IN PERSIAN PALACES

From Northern Iran, Corporal J. P. O'Neill, correspondent for *Yank, the Army Weekly*, writes on May 12, 1944, of the 'stands' which Sergeant John Dillhomick manages for our soldiers in that remote area.

'I want to design my joints in the form of a camel,' said Sergeant Dillhomick, 'and call them "Persian Palaces." And after it is all over I may take my little idea back to the States. They have *nutburgers*, *cheeseburgers*, *wineburgers*, and *raisinburgers*, but I bet none of them ever ate a *gazelleburger*.'

He then went on to explain how, when he was confronted with the problem of supplying food in the isolated region, he took his rifle, shot two gazelles, ground up the meat with some Spam, added salt, and was the originator of 'gazelleburgers.'

He does not describe 'wineburgers' and 'raisinburgers,' which he speaks of as indigenous to the United States but which have not been included in any lists which I have seen.

Corporal J. F. Wall wrote in the *Union Pacific Bulletin*, December, 1943, of hamburgers made from camel meat. They helped, he said, to bring home close.

The United States soldiers on Bataan boasted of their *caraburgers*, one recalls. Lt. Col. W. J. Clear, in his account of the heroic defense

of the Philippines in *The Reader's Digest*, July, 1942, told of their slaughtering army mules and horses, and wild pigs, when the rations ran low in January.

'The men liked the caraboa (water buffalo) better,' he said. 'They made sandwiches of it which they called "caraburgers" in a dim memory of home.'

Yank, July 8, 1942, also told of the 'caraburgers,—something you couldn't buy at Coney Island in a million years.'

'The hamburger seems to have replaced roast beef as the national English dish in London, with the arrival of American forces,' wrote Mr. Herbert E. Bates, British novelist, in *Britain*, April, 1943.

In Australian restaurants, if one of our boys orders a hamburger he will get it wrapped in cabbage leaves and it will be called 'dim sin,' according to *The Family Circle* magazine, September, 1943.

Wartime has been bringing out some novel variants at home, too. *Healthburgers* are advertised by D. B. Kerr of Wellsboro, Pa. 'For meatless days try healthburgers,' he advises. 'Looks, smells and tastes like meat, but contains none of any kind.'

Potatoburgers are also 'substitute-burgers.' The recipe calls for 2 cups of coarsely ground unpeeled raw potatoes to combine with a pound of hamburger, onion, green pepper and seasoning.

Beaverburgers are so well liked in Littlefork, Minnesota, that hamburgers have become the substitute, reports a writer in *The Family Circle*, March 3, 1944.

Already reported in *American Speech* are -burgers of bean, beef, buffalo, cheese, chicken, dog, fish, gluten, horsemeat, lamb, nuts, pig, pickle, pork, rabbit, spam, shrimp, turtle, whale, and others of uncertain ingredients.

The U. S. Government definition of a hamburger is:

Ground, chopped or komminuted . . . from the skeletal portions of the carcass (but not including the head) which contains no offal, added blood, cartilage, gristle, bone, cereal product or other ingredient except seasoning and which does not have a fat content in excess of 28 per cent by chemical analysis. . . . ground at least twice, the final grinding through a plate with holes not more than 3/16 of an inch in diameter or chopped in a rotary cutter or by other means giving equivalent results.

This definition would seem to allow hamburgers to be made of anything with a skeleton and a carcass.

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THE FARM COLUMN

Bayous, used in the plural, is the name applied by residents of Emmett, in Polk County, Nebraska, near the Sandhills, to former river beds of the Niobrara River, according to Zane Cole, now a student at the University of Nebraska. The only other use of the term in Nebraska reported to me was from Douglas County, near Omaha,

where it was applied to a 'small armlet of a lake.'

A cattleman signing himself Joe wrote to the *New York Times*, September 10, 1943, about butchering cattle, legally and illegally. He used *kill out* and explained its meaning in parentheses: 'A cattleman here secured a permit to kill out (butcher) a few steers at the rate of twenty-five a week.'

Blood sweat, not found in the dictionaries I have consulted, was described by a writer in *The Rotarian*, January, 1944: 'Farmers have long known that cattle fed on improperly cured sweet clover hay are apt to develop a fatal sickness. It used to be called "blood sweat."' "

'The "*feeding year*" in this country is considered to begin and end October 1,' wrote Mr. Ladd Haystead, March, 1944 in 'The Farm Column,' which he edits for *Fortune* magazine.

Wheels may serve, it seems, as a unit of test or measurement. 'The American farm has from twenty to fifty wheels on even the smaller acreages and as all of these are considered capable of rubberization, the Goodyear experiment also provides an excellent laboratory in the fields for demonstration and testing of rubber on the farm,' writes Mr. Ladd Haystead in *Fortune* for December, 1943.

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'BOGUS'

Neither the *OED*, *NID*, or *DAE* defines this word in a sense in

which it was used at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, early in the century. In connection with the 'traditional 'scraps' between the sophomores and freshmen, the former usually issued scurrilous handbills or broadsides, upbraiding and threatening the 'freshies,' that were posted by night on telephone poles and in other public places. These were called *boguses*. 'Did you see the latest bogus?' 'Yes, and wasn't it dirty?'

W. L. McATEE

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AMERICAN SOLDIERS ABROAD

Jeepable is being used on maps and in communications of the Southeastern Command, according to a news item from Allied Headquarters, Kandy, Ceylon, May 2, 1944. It refers to rough overland trails impassable to vehicles other than jeeps.

'If it would not inconvenience you too much, I and the other boys in our *basha* (a bamboo hut) would like very much to have you send us your special map of the U.S.A.' J. F. Wall, *Union Pacific Bulletin*, December, 1943, p. 2.

In the early months of 1944 the term *Krauts* turned up and came to be used more and more of the Germans by American soldiers in Italy, according to Ernie Pyle, the newspaper correspondent.

'I am flying in one of three Lancasters which will drop hundreds of incendiaries as well as 4,000-pound "*cookies*."' Lowell Bennett in International News

Service, December 3, 1943.

Lieutenant Joe Klass, a young American Spitfire pilot, wrote to an Associated Press correspondent in London late in May of the new colloquial vocabulary of American prisoners of war in German camps. Some typical expressions developed by such *Kriegies* or old prisoners of war are: *circuit*, a walk; *purges*, new arrivals; *bash*, banquet; *gash*, extra issue of anything; *cooler*, punishment; *round-the-bend*, stir-crazy.

Hal Boyle, a newspaper correspondent writing from Italy, Jan. 11, 1944, mentioned Captain Howard Hammersly of Roanoke, Virginia, as the organizer of a *Brush-off-club* 'made up of mournful soldiers who were given the hemlock cup by femmes back home.' Hammersly proceeded to form next the *Wabocs*, members of the women's auxiliary of the brush-off-club, 'the fastest growing organization of the lovelorn in the world.'

The same correspondent, Hal Boyle, reported *Floogle Street* as in use in the talk of the Fifteenth Air Force in Italy in the winter of 1943-44. Enlisted men play a game of 'living in Floogle Street' when talking nonsensical statements. The expression is used of anybody 'haywire' in speech or actions. A soldier sent on a senseless errand calls it a 'Floogle Street assignment.' The sergeant who inflicts it on him is 'Flying Floogle Street.' Floogle Street is used to haze new replacements.

'PARATROOP'

In his article, 'War Words in England,' in the February, 1944, issue of *American Speech*, Mr. H. L. Mencken lists the word *paratroops*, defined as 'soldiers trained for parachute duty.' He does not, however, mention the singular *paratroop*, meaning 'an individual member of the paratroops.' Both of the following examples of *paratroop*, found in the *Illustrated London News* for July 17, 1943, are captions for photographs:

'With hands grasping the sides of the door, a paratroop bends low to prevent his parachute fouling the fuselage as he jumps' (p. 70).

'A paratroop about to land, with feet together and knees bent ready to take the shock' (p. 71).

Elsewhere on p. 70 we find mention of a 'paratroop-carrying aircraft.'

E. V. K. D.

WORD-FINDING

The desirability of having words entered where they belong in the letter-by-letter alphabetization of the dictionary would not seem open to question. But try to find many of those customarily used in the plural. This train of thought was induced for the *n*th time recently by consideration of the term 'woods.' In the *NID*, here referred to throughout, it is correctly explained under *wood*, seven columns from where it should be. In American speech, *woods* is a distinct word with a different meaning from *wood*, the latter,

with the significance of a growth of trees, apparently being in only literary, and then archaic or pedantic, use. Does it seem at all unreasonable to urge that the words of common speech be placed in the dictionary so that they can be found without special search?

Many terms are involved. *Bars* (for an improvised gate), the meaning of which may be rather unsatisfactorily made out under the term *bar*, should properly be inserted twenty-one columns farther on. Another farm term not recognized is *running gears*. Among names of tools, *calipers* and *pliers* are not entered as plurals, although they are thus universally employed. A similar remark applies to the names of certain games, as *cards*, *jackstones*, *jackstraws*, *marbles*, and *tiddly-winks*. No one says, 'Let's play marble.' The associated term *keeps* also is not in its rightful place. Most of the designations of bipartite garments are in correct order; an exception, however, is *suspenders*. Another clothing term, *hand-me-downs*, practically always used in the plural, is not so indicated, and *highwaters* and, most surprisingly, *panties* are omitted.

Words denoting physiological manifestations of the human body customarily have plural form. Among those not so placed are *giggles*, *grunts*, and *jimjams*. Others entirely omitted are *heebie-jeebies* and *sungrins*, not to mention certain common indecent expressions that illustrate the prevalence of pluralization in the

forming of colloquial terms for bodily afflictions. A few miscellaneous items that occur to me are *daylights*, *fixings*, *hindsights*, and *slathers*, none of which is in its proper place in the glossary.

The practical consideration is that it takes time to hunt for words in other than their natural places, especially when recourse must be had to a basic term with numerous meanings. A good rule in all management is to have a place for everything and to keep everything in its place. The place for words having a distinct meaning in the

plural is made clear by their forms, but it is often unattained. That this is a defect in dictionary making is apparent. Clarence L. Barnhart of this city once remarked to me, 'Dictionary makers seem to think that the language is something different from what people use.' There is only too much evidence of the truth of this statement. The attitude is one that should be abandoned and its surrender manifested in deeds.

W. L. MCATEE

Chicago, Illinois

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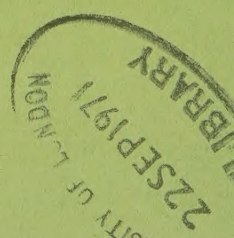
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THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental and Alveolar	Retroflex	Palato-alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive . . .	p b		t d	tʃ			c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal . . .	m	ɱ	n	ɳ			ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Lateral Fricative . .			ɬ ɮ								
Lateral Non-fricative .			l	ɭ			ʎ				
Rolled . . .			ɾ						ʀ		
Flapped . . .			ɹ	ɽ					ʀ		
Fricative . . .	ɸ β	f v	θ ð s z	ʃ ʒ	ç ʒ		ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Frictionless Continuants and Semi-vowels	w ɥ	ʋ	ɹ				j ɟ	(w)	ʁ		
Close . . .	(y u ɯ)						Front i y	Central ɨ u	Back ɯ u		
Half-close . . .	(ø ɔ)						ø ɶ	ə	ɤ ɔ		
Half-open . . .	(œ ɔ)						ɛ œ	ɛ	ʌ ɔ		
Open . . .	(ɒ)						æ	ʌ	ʊ ɒ		

(Secondary articulations are shown by symbols in brackets.)

OTHER SOUNDS.—Palatalized consonants: *t*, *d*, etc. Velarized or pharyngalized consonants: *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ʒ*, etc. Ejective consonants (plosives with simultaneous glottal stop): *p'*, *t'*, etc. Implosive voiced consonants: *ɓ*, *ɗ*, etc. *f* fricative trill. *σ*, *ς* (labialized *θ*, *ð*, or *s*, *z*). *ʄ*, *ʒ* (labialized *f*, *ʒ*). *ɕ*, *ʈ*, *ɟ* (clicks, Zulu *c*, *q*, *x*). *ɺ* (a sound between *r* and *l*). *ɰ* (voiceless *w*). *ɪ*, *ɣ*, *ʋ* (lowered varieties of *i*, *y*, *u*). *ɜ* (a variety of *e*). *ə* (a vowel between *ɐ* and *o*).

Affricates are normally represented by groups of two consonants (ts, tf, dʒ, etc.), but, when necessary, ligatures are used (ts, tf, dʒ, etc.) or the marks ͡ or ͣ (as or ts, etc.). c, i may occasionally be used in place of tf, dʒ. Aspirated plosives: ph, th, etc.

Length, Stress, Pitch. — : (full length). ° (half length). ' (stress, placed at beginning of the stressed syllable). (secondary stress). ¨ (high level pitch); _ (low level); ´ (high rising); , (low rising); ˘ (high falling); ˙ (low falling); ˚ (fall-rise). See *Écriture Phonétique Internationale*, p. 9.

MODIFIERS.— $\sim$ nasality. $\circ$ breath ($\mathfrak{t}$ = breathed l). $\vee$ voice ($\mathfrak{z}$ = $\mathfrak{z}$). $\mathfrak{t}$ slight aspiration following p, t, etc. $\mathfrak{z}$ specially close vowel ($\mathfrak{e}$ = a very close e). $\mathfrak{a}$ specially open vowel ($\mathfrak{e}$ = a rather open e). $\mathfrak{n}$ labialization $\mathfrak{n}$ = labialized n). $\mathfrak{a}$ dental articulation ($\mathfrak{t}$ = dental t). $\circ$ palatalization ($\mathfrak{z}$ = $\mathfrak{z}$). $\mathfrak{t}$ tongue slightly raised. $\mathfrak{z}$ tongue slightly lowered. $\mathfrak{z}$ lips more spread. Central vowels $\mathfrak{y}$ ($\mathfrak{z}$ = $\mathfrak{z}$), $\mathfrak{u}$ ($\mathfrak{z}$ = $\mathfrak{u}$), $\mathfrak{e}$ ($\mathfrak{z}$ = $\mathfrak{e}$), $\mathfrak{o}$ ($\mathfrak{z}$ = $\mathfrak{o}$), $\mathfrak{a}$ (e.g. $\mathfrak{n}$) syllabic consonant. $\mathfrak{z}$ consonantal vowel. $\mathfrak{z}$ variety of $\mathfrak{z}$ resembling $\mathfrak{z}$, etc.

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